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Reg. H. H.



## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
HISTORICAL SKETCH OF SOUTH AFRICA. By Sir BARTLE FRERE, Bart, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. . . . .	1
NOTES ON THE LOCAL PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CEN- TURIES. By HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN, M.A., F.R. Hist. S.	61
THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE OF 1788. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A., F.R. Hist. S. . . . .	77
CHRISTIANITY IN ROMAN BRITAIN. By HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A., F.R. Hist. S. . . . .	117
THE SAXON INVASION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON OUR CHA- RACTER AS A RACE. By J. FOSTER PALMER, L.R.C.P., F.R. Hist. S. . . . .	173
THE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH BEFORE THE CONQUEST, AND THE EFFECT ON THEM OF THE NORMAN INVASION. By Rev. ROBINSON THORNTON, D.D., F.R. Hist. S. . . . .	197
THE LOST OPPORTUNITIES OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA. By Colonel G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I., F.R. Hist. S. . . . .	225
THE TCHÔNG-YÔNG OF CONFUCIUS. Edited by his Grandson, TCHHING-Tsé. By Dr. G. G. ZERFFI, F.R.S.L., F.R. Hist. S.	254
✓ HISTORICAL SUGGESTIONS IN THE ANCIENT HINDU EPIC, THE MAHÁBHÁRATA. By CHARLES J. STONE, F.R.S.L. F.R. Hist. S. . . . .	272

	PAGE
ORIGIN OF THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY, LONDON, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITS LABOURS ON BEHALF OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. By WILLIAM MARSHALL VENNING, M.A., D.C.L. . . . .	293
THE INTERCOURSE OF THE DANES WITH THE FRANKS. By HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A., F.R. Hist. S. . . . .	302
THE TREATY OF COMMERCE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN 1786. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A., F.R. Hist. S. . . . .	349
PERPLEXITIES OF ORIENTAL HISTORY. By Major-General Sir F. J. GOLDSMID, C.B., K.C.S.I. . . . .	365
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES . . . . .	97, 215, 335, 390
OBITUARY NOTICES . . . . .	113
INDEX . . . . .	401

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92  
HISTORICAL SKETCH OF SOUTH AFRICA.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR BARTLE FRERE, BART., G.C.B.,  
G.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., &c.

(Read May 1883.)

I PROPOSE in the following remarks to note briefly the leading events, as far as they are known to us, in the history of South Africa, adding in an appendix a chronological table of dates.

This sketch can make no pretensions to throwing any new light, from original documents, on the transactions noticed. It is simply a popular summary of events without some knowledge of which no fair judgment can be formed on questions affecting South Africa.

I have freely quoted here the works of trustworthy colonial historians, such as Mr. John Noble, Mr. Wilmot, and Mr. Theal, whose excellent works are unfortunately not easily accessible to the student in this country. I trust the gentlemen I have named will accept this general acknowledgment of my obligations to them, since what I owe to their labours forms so large a portion of the whole sketch that it would be almost impossible to specify particular obligations.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Among the works to which I am more especially indebted I would mention :—  
Mr. John Noble's *South Africa, Past and Present*. (London: Longmans & Co. Cape Town: J. C. Juta. 1877. 1 vol. small 8vo.) A well-written history of European settlements in South Africa.

The history of South Africa may be conveniently divided into seven periods :—

1. Prehistoric period.
2. Early historical period, down to the first settlement of the Dutch, 1652.
3. Dutch rule, 1652 to 1795.
4. British occupation, 1795 to 1803.
5. Dutch restoration, 1803 to 1807.
6. British rule previous to the grant of representative institutions to the Cape Colony, 1807 to 1853.
7. From the grant of representative institutions to the present time.

#### I. PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

In South Africa, as elsewhere, we find traces of human occupation by races who apparently inhabited the country at a time anterior to any of which we possess historical records. Stone foundations for huts and cattle-pens are found in regions which have, for ages apparently, relapsed into forest or prairie. In the caves which abound in many districts, as in Outshorn, in the Congo caves, and on the rocks in almost every mountain range, from the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, through the Drakensburg, to the gold-fields

*History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, from its Discovery to the year 1819*, by A. Wilmot, Esq. From 1820 to 1868, by the Hon. John Centlivres Chace, M.L.C. (1 vol. large 8vo. Cape Town : J. C. Juta, Wale Street. 1869.) A valuable work.

*History of the Cape Colony for the Use of Schools*. By A. Wilmot, F.R.G.S. (3rd ed. 12mo. Cape Town : J. C. Juta. 1880.) A useful little compendium of the leading facts in the history of the colony.

*Compendium of South African History and Geography*. By Geo. McCall Theal. (3rd ed. 2 vols. 8vo. Institution Press, Lovedale, S. Africa. 1877.)

*Chronicles of Cape Commanders*. By G. M. Theal. (1 vol. 8vo. Cape Town : W. A. Richards & Sons, Government Printers, Castle Street. 1882.) After the publication of his History, Mr. Theal was made Keeper of the Archives of the Cape Colony, and these chronicles are, in great part, from materials previously unpublished in the Records of the Government at Cape Town and in the Netherlands. The book contains a vast mass of interesting matter relating to the early Dutch rulers, and is illustrated by four reprints of early Dutch maps, and notes on English, Dutch, and French books published before 1796, containing references to South Africa.

of the Limpopo, in the one direction, and to Damaraland in the other, are everywhere to be found traces of occupation by human beings, at least as uncivilised as the modern Bushmen.

Stone implements almost identical in shape with those found in Europe (axes, spears, and arrowheads, cutting instruments, pestles for bruising corn); perforated and spherical stones of various sizes, some apparently used as spindles, others as weights to give force to the digging stick for pecking up the earth preparatory for sowing; rude jars of earthenware, hand-made without the use of a potter's wheel; rock drawings of beasts of the chase, and of cattle, and of human beings unclothed—these and many similar traces of early uncivilised life are found abundantly in all rocky regions of temperate South Africa. The drawings on the rocks of the ranges running parallel to the southern and eastern coast are generally coloured with charcoal, red, yellow, and brown ochre, and white clay. Some of the human beings depicted are black men armed with spears and shields, others are a tawny-coloured race using bows and arrows. These drawings often exhibit great natural taste and artistic feeling, as well as fidelity to nature. Those north of the Orange River in Namaqualand and Damaraland are frequently marked on slabs of rock by incised or dotted lines. Some of the stone implements referred to may be attributed to a very remote age, for they are said to have been found in caves under alternate layers of soil, mingled with ashes, gravel, and stalactites which it must have taken long ages to deposit; but the implements themselves differ little, if at all, from those which the Bushmen of the present day still make and use, and some of the rock drawings depict men of European complexion, clothed, wearing hats, and riding on horses, all proving that they must be more recent than the first appearance of Europeans in those regions within the last century or two.

Indeed, the difficulty of proving that any great antiquity can be assigned to these remains is so considerable, that I should not refer to them as reliable evidence of human habitation earlier than the first advent of Europeans, were it not

in the hope of directing the researches of future explorers to a field which may yield results of the highest value to the ethnologist and archæologist. The implements and other traces of human life referred to are found in almost every district ; some are apparently very ancient, and further careful research by leisured experts may, in some cases, elicit further evidence of high antiquity. Others, even the most modern, illustrate the contemporaneous use of stone implements with those of iron and copper, and may correct too hasty generalisations as to the several materials belonging to successive ages of civilisation. A careful collection and study of the native implements, ancient and modern, of South Africa may assist us in testing a prehistoric chronology, which would rely mainly on differences of material, as indicating different ages, in the manufacture and use of implements belonging to times of which no written history has reached us.

There is much reason to suppose that the copper and gold mines of temperate South Africa, especially the gold mines, were worked in times long anterior to those of which we have historical record. Ancient workings of great extent and a few remains of stone walls have been found near Pilgrim's Rest, and in other auriferous districts of the Transvaal and the regions beyond. They are certainly not the work of the present inhabitants of those regions, and they cannot be as late as the early discoveries of the Portuguese. Little has, however, been ascertained regarding the race who worked them ; but it is possible further research may show what amount of truth there is in the conjecture that it was from this region the Phœnicians drew their supplies of African gold as far back as the days of Solomon.

## II. EARLY HISTORICAL PERIOD, DOWN TO THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE DUTCH IN 1652.

Herodotus<sup>1</sup> tells us of explorers sent by Pharaoh Neco from the Red Sea, who in the third year of their travels

<sup>1</sup> Melpomene, iv. 42.

doubled the Pillars of Hercules and arrived in Egypt, 'and,' he adds, 'related what to me does not seem credible, but may to others—that as they sailed round Libya they had the sun on their right hand. Thus was Libya first known.' Strabo is, however, the principal authority for the Phœnicians having sailed round Africa ;<sup>1</sup> he discusses at some length several legends of the circumnavigation of the continent, from the Phœnician voyagers (B.C. 600) mentioned by Herodotus to the time of Ptolemy Euergetes II., but evidently doubts the truth of the narratives he refers to. There is, however, nothing in the particulars he gives which, judged by our present knowledge of geography, would justify disbelief in these legends, if we regard them not as the narratives of educated travellers, but as the recollections of unscientific and ignorant seamen.

It is stated that the early Arab geographers describe the east coast of Africa as far south as Delagoa Bay ; but the first date connected with South Africa of which we have unquestionable historical record is the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1486, by Bartholomew Dias, the noble Portuguese navigator, who, on September 14th in that year, anchored in Algoa Bay, after such a stormy passage round the Cape, that he named it 'Cabo de los Tormentos,' or Cape of Storms, subsequently changed to 'Cabo de Boã Esperança' by his sovereign, King John II. of Portugal, who recognised in its discovery an indication that the road to the East Indies, so long sought by his countrymen, had at length been discovered.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Book II. chap. iii. § 4.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to my friend Mr. Major, late keeper of the department of maps and charts in the British Museum and Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society, for the correction of many errors in the ordinary accounts of the Portuguese discoveries in South Africa, and in particular for calling my attention to the fact that the Cape of Good Hope was first sighted on Dias' *return* voyage, and not when he was outward-bound. Flesh Bay, near Gauritz River, was the first land seen after passing Cape Voltas, the south point of the Orange River mouth. Coasting eastward, Dias reached Algoa Bay, where he erected a stone cross on an islet thence named Santa Cruz. He had discovered the Great Fish River when the murmurs of his wearied crew, to his great grief, compelled him to turn homewards. Mr. Major doubts whether September 14th can be the correct

Vasco da Gama succeeding Dias in his enterprise, passed the Cape in November 1497, and subsequently reached India, and the commanders of the Portuguese expeditions who perseveringly followed the lead of these first explorers appear generally to have landed at the Cape. Antonio de Saldanha visited Table Bay in 1503, and gave it his own name, which was subsequently, in 1601, transferred by Spielberg to the harbour some distance to the north, which is still called Saldanha Bay. Francisco d'Almeida, Count of Abrantes, the first Viceroy and Governor-General of the Portuguese East Indies, was killed in an affray with the natives on the shores of Table Bay in 1510, where the railway terminus and parade ground in front of the castle at Cape Town now stand; and, shortly after this Almeida, Dom Manuel da Souza, who had been high in office in India, was shipwrecked on the rocks at the Cape of Good Hope, and perished, with his beautiful wife, Dona Leonora de Sà, and their children, after unwisely surrendering his arms to the natives on shore. The pathetic incidents of his sad fate were a theme for the poets as well as the historians of the day, and it is noted that out of the five hundred men on board the richly laden ship twenty-six travelling eastward are said to have reached an 'Ethiopian' village, whence they found a passage to the Red Sea.

Beyond, however, erecting stone crosses, some of which still exist on the more striking promontories of the coast, the Portuguese do not appear to have made any attempt at permanent occupation or colonisation. Their fleets in after years generally touched at St. Helena, and made the run thence to Mozambique or back, giving the Cape a wide berth, and rarely touching at any port on the African coast

date of the landing in Algoa Bay. Dias left Portugal in August 1486, and got back in December 1487, having been out sixteen months and seventeen days. For details of Dias' discoveries, with their interesting and affecting incidents up to the sad fate of the great navigator, who perished in a storm off the Cape of Good Hope after assisting Cabral in his Brazilian discoveries, I would recommend the reader to consult pp. 218 and 220 and p. 260 of Mr. Major's *Discoveries of Prince Henry*, and pp. 343, c. 345, and 410 of his beautiful work the *Life of Prince Henry of Portugal*. Asher, 1868.



south of Delagoa Bay, which they frequented to take in ivory collected by the elephant hunters in the vast forests round the lagoons of St. Lucia.

The Portuguese who first doubled the Cape were closely followed by the English and the Dutch. The first English account of the Cape recorded by an eye-witness is said to be that of the Rev. Thomas Stephens, a Roman Catholic priest, who was wrecked near Cape Agulhas, on his way to Goa, in 1579. He described the country as 'full of tigers and savages, who kill all strangers.'

Sir Francis Drake, in 1580, rounded the Cape, but did not land. In 1591, on April 10th, the first English expedition to the East Indies sailed from Plymouth. It consisted of three ships under Admiral Raymond. He was soon after lost in his flagship, and the command devolved on Captain James Lancaster, the Arctic explorer, who anchored in Table Bay on August 1st, and refreshed his sickly crew, visiting Robben Island and obtaining a few cattle from the natives.

Ten years later, in 1601, Lancaster, then in command of the first fleet of the English East India Company, comprising five vessels, revisited the Cape. His crews had so suffered from scurvy that only Lancaster's own ship could drop her anchors, and he had to go in his boat to assist his consorts in anchoring. Seven weeks ashore restored the survivors to health. Davis, another famous Arctic voyager, who had visited the Cape in the Dutch service in 1598, revisited it in 1607, and Sir Edward Mechalborne in 1605.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir E. Mechalborne in 1605, Sir Henry Middleton in 1607 and 1609, and other navigators whose names are recorded by Hacluyt and Purchas, called at the Cape and have left accounts of the place as they then found it. Captain Dorniton, in Middleton's fleet in 1609, describes Table Bay as formerly 'a comfortable retreat for the English,' and attributes to the depredations of the Dutch a change for the worse. The Portuguese, as far back as 1525, had made an abortive attempt to form a settlement on Robben Island, and the English repeated the attempt with equal want of success in 1614, when Captain Peyton, at the request of the English East India Company, brought out and landed ten men, sentenced at the Old Bailey to banishment for crime; but they quarrelled with the natives: the leader, Cross, was killed, four were drowned in trying to reach a passing vessel, and three escaped home, where they were subsequently executed for theft in 1619.

In 1619 the directors of the English Company communicated with the Dutch Company on the subject of building a fort, as a joint establishment, but nothing had been decided when, on June 3rd, 1620, Captain Andrew Shillinge, with four English ships bound to the Persian Gulf, met in Table Bay an English fleet bound to Bantam under Captain Humphrey Fitzherbert, and the two English captains took possession of the Cape and the adjoining country in the name of King James I.; but this formal step, which was taken, as they state in their proclamation, entirely on their own responsibility, was not recognised by the Government nor the East India Company, nor followed up by any practical occupation. Apparently St. Helena about this time came to be preferred, by the captains of English Indiamen, as the point of call and refreshment on their voyages to or from India, and till the middle of the seventeenth century English merchantmen only occasionally landed at the Cape.

We are told that to the Dutch people and Government, whilst engaged in their struggle for freedom with the Spanish Empire, 'commerce and independence were synonymous.' The Dutch at first used to obtain at Lisbon the articles of Indian trade which they required for home consumption. When the conquest of Portugal by Philip II. of Spain shut them out of that market, they turned their attention to the discovery of a north-eastern passage. But the difficulties of the Arctic voyage induced some merchants of Amsterdam, in 1595, to send four ships to the East Indies via the Cape of Good Hope. This venture appears to have been inspired by the great work of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, of which the first part was published in 1595. Linschoten was a native of Haarlem and a devoted student of history and geography. He had gone to Seville to prosecute his studies, and had moved to Lisbon, where he entered a merchant's house as clerk, just before the entry of Philip II. After two years he sailed to India in the suite of Vicente da Fonseca, a Dominican monk, who had been appointed Archbishop of Goa, and after an absence of nearly thirteen years returned to Holland in 1592.

He came back impressed with the idea of reaching China and India by the North-East Passage through the Arctic seas, and made two attempts in that direction with William Barentz and Jacob Heemskerck as companions, in expeditions fitted out by the city of Amsterdam and by the States-General. Leaving Barentz to make a third attempt, in which he perished, Linschoten remained at home to prepare for the press the observations he had made, and in 1595-6 he published his great work, which recorded all the information that he had collected during his travels regarding the history and geography of the countries he visited, and especially all that related to the navigation and trade of the Portuguese in the East.

Before Linschoten's work appeared, a Dutch merchant, Cornelis Houtman, who had been a prisoner for debt or from political causes at Lisbon, had been impressing on his friends in Holland the value of the East Indian trade, and persuaded some of his countrymen to purchase his release by a promise of giving them valuable information on the subject. The confirmation afforded by Linschoten induced some Dutch merchants, under the auspices of the 'Association of Distant Lands,' which they formed for the purpose, to send out a fleet of four vessels under Houtman's direction. They left the Texel on April 2nd, 1595, and brought home much valuable information and specimens of precious articles of trade, and above all a pilot of Guzerat, 'a man of great ability and well acquainted with the navigation of all the coasts of India.' A second fleet was sent out under Captain Nek to form a permanent settlement in Java. This expedition was so successful that trading companies were formed at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other towns, which ultimately joined in partnership, and were incorporated by charter from the States-General, dated March 20th, 1602, as the 'Netherlands General East India Company.'

Their charter provided that the capital subscription list should be open to all inhabitants of the United Netherlands, special provisos being made in favour of small subscribers. There were to be six chambers, or offices, for the transaction

of business—at Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Enckuisen—which were to elect the chamber of seventeen general directors. Their place of meeting was to be alternately for six years at Amsterdam and for two years at Middelburg. The election of general directors was to be by the States of the province in which a vacancy occurred, selecting one out of three persons named by the general directory. All inhabitants of the United Provinces other than the Company were prohibited from trading eastward of the Cape of Good Hope or westward of the Straits of Magellan for twenty-one years, under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. Within those limits the East India Company were empowered to make treaties and contracts in the name of the States-General, to build fortresses, appoint for their settlements governors, military commanders, judges, &c., who were to swear allegiance to the States-General of the Netherlands, to whose authority was reserved privilege of appeal, and all appointments were to be reported to the States-General for confirmation.

For these privileges the Company was to pay 150,000 gulden, as the States-General's subscription to the capital (which was in all 660,000*l.*), for the benefit and risk of the general government. Besides the sums paid by the Company to the Government for the grant and renewal of the charter, the Government gained the advantage of a large, well-organised navy, subject to State control. In subsequent years other cities were admitted to share in the direction, so as to make the Company represent the whole republic. Amsterdam, however, continued to possess preponderating influence. The dividends for more than a century averaged above twenty per cent., and were in one year seventy-five per cent.

But the Netherlands Company did not establish its position in Java without a severe struggle. A large fleet of twenty-five galleons and other vessels was sent from Lisbon, under Andreas Hurtado de Mendoza, with orders to destroy Bantam for presuming to trade with the enemies of Portugal. They found there a Dutch trading fleet of five vessels, with only

300 sailors, under Wolfert Hermann, who, to Mendoza's amazement, attacked him, though the whole Dutch fleet was inferior in force to Mendoza's flagship alone. After several days' fighting Hermann captured two Portuguese ships, sunk and drove ashore others, and compelled the remnant to retire. Soon after Batavia was founded, and the Dutch power firmly established in Java and the eastern seas. It is said that at that time the Dutch galiots were superior in speed and sailing qualities to the heavy ships of the Spaniards and Portuguese.

But they had a hard fight to maintain their superiority. Orders were sent out from Spain to execute all Dutch interlopers; the Dutchmen, however, fought and traded on, till they had driven their competitors from Java, and from the best marts in the Indian seas. These efforts were too much for individual enterprise and capital, and, as the Government had its hands full at home, the constitution of such an association as the United Netherlands East India Company became a necessity. Their first fleet of fourteen ships, under Wybrand van Warwyk, sailed before the end of 1602, and a second of thirteen ships, under Stephen van der Hagen, followed in 1603. The equipment of these two fleets is set down as having cost 220,000*l*.

All the Company's dominions, including the Cape, were subject to the Batavian Council, which comprised the Governor-General of the Indies, the Director-General, five ordinary directors, and a few extra-ordinary councillors who had no vote, but acted for deceased directors till successors were appointed. The Council was, however, subordinate to the Home Directory in the United Provinces, whose Chamber of Seventeen was nearly as powerful as the States-General.

The first public establishment at the Cape was a primitive post office, letters being left under large stones, addressed to the commanders of ships expected to call.

From 1616 the Dutch fleets called every season in Table Bay, and on August 19th, 1619, the Chamber of Seventeen in Holland declared that it was necessary to found a fort at

the Cape of Good Hope, 'for the assurance of the refreshment necessary to the navigation of India, and for the preservation of the seafaring people, which is of much importance.'

This was followed, in 1649, by other representations to the same effect, addressed to the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber. In 1648 the Dutch Indiaman the 'Haarlem' was wrecked in Table Bay, and the crew remained on shore for five months before they were taken off by the outward-bound fleet from Holland. They had saved, with the ship's stores, a quantity of vegetable seeds, which they planted near the site of the present Cape Town, and which grew luxuriantly. They found that their sick rapidly recovered, that game was abundant, and the natives friendly and willing to barter cattle and other fresh supplies; so that the shipwrecked mariners formed a very favourable opinion of Table Bay as a place of refreshment on the long East Indian voyage. Two of them, Leendert Janssen and Nicholas Proot, drew up a 'Remonstrance,' addressed to the Netherlands East India Company, urging the immediate formation of a fort and garden at Table Bay. This was referred to Jan Antony van Riebeck, a surgeon, who had been at the Cape, and his report was so favourable that, after nearly two years of discussion, he was placed in command of an expedition of three ships, the 'Dromedaris,' the 'Reiger' ('Heron'), and the 'Goede Hoop.' His instructions were to set up, near the spot which the crew of the 'Haarlem' had selected, a wooden house which was sent out with him, to construct a fort capable of holding seventy or eighty men, and to arm it with four iron culverins at the angles, to form a garden, and build boats for the use of the garrison, to treat the natives kindly, and to send home a diary and observations on the 'Remonstrance' of Janssen and Proot, of which a copy was annexed to the instructions.

Van Riebeck is described as 'a man of considerable ability, who let no opportunity of acquiring knowledge escape him—a little, fiery-tempered, resolute man, in the prime of life, with perfect health, untiring energy, and unbounded zeal.' As a ship's surgeon he had been a great voyager, and his

remarks on his instructions refer to his experience in the Caribbees, in Siam, Java, Japan, China, and Greenland. He had been three weeks at the Cape when the crew of the 'Haarlem' were being taken off. He agreed with the authors of the 'Remonstrance' on all points except the character of the natives, regarding which his opinion was less favourable than theirs. But, with a view to their improvement, as well as for other reasons, he pointed out the advantage of having a clergyman added to the expedition.

Some time elapsed before the expedition was ready for sea. Further instructions were issued, enjoining precautions against surprise. No offence was to be given to any one calling at the Cape, unless they were subjects of the King of Portugal, with whom the States-General were at war. Representatives of other nations might form settlements beyond the Company's boundaries, which were to be carefully marked. Homeward-bound ships were to be warned to sail in company and to be prepared for battle. The Chamber of Middelburg had at the time certain information that Prince Rupert was at sea, with eight large vessels, cruising on behalf of Portugal against English and Spanish ships. Captain Aldert, just arrived at Flushing, had met him frequently off the coast of Portugal, had seen him plunder a richly laden vessel of Castile, and had been prevented by him from making prize of a Portuguese ship laden with sugar. It was supposed he was bound for St. Helena, there to lie in wait for the homeward-bound fleet of the English E. I. Company.

On December 4th, 1651, Van Riebeck received a commission empowering him to convene and preside in the 'Broad Council' of the ships—*i.e.* he was to be commander-in-chief of the expedition. On December 16th he embarked, with his family and two nieces to whom he was guardian, on board the 'Dromedaris,' but it was the 24th before a favourable wind enabled them to put to sea. The 'Dromedaris' was crank, and after a council they decided to put into some English port for ballast; but a favourable breeze sprang up, carried them past the ordinary cruising ground for privateers,



#### 14 TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

and left them nothing to fear save Prince Rupert and his squadron, cruising between St. Helena and Table Bay on the watch for Indiamen. Some of the large guns were sent below to improve the vessel's trim. On April 5th, 1652, the chief mate saw Table Mountain above the eastern horizon, and won the reward of 16s. promised to the first who saw land. After careful reconnoitring, to make sure that no hostile vessels were in Table Bay, the ships ran in, and by the morning of Sunday, April 7th, were all safely anchored off the Freshwater River, after a run of 104 days from the Texel; at that time 120 days was considered a short passage. In the evening Van Riebeck landed and selected ground for building the fort, and so began the first European settlement in South Africa.

#### III. DUTCH RULE, 1652 TO 1795.

The boat which carried Van Riebeck ashore brought back to the 'Dromedaris' two natives, one of whom became afterwards a prominent man in the settlement for the rest of his days.

Autshumao, or 'Harry,' as he was called by Europeans, was one of a small Hottentot clan of fifty or sixty souls, who were then the only permanent inhabitants of the Cape Peninsula. They called themselves 'Goringhaikonas,' but were known to the Dutch as 'Beachrangers.' They had no cattle, 'nor,' as Van Riebeck records in his journal, 'anything else save hungry bellies.' They lived mainly on fish and wild roots. 'Harry' had been on board an English ship to Bantam, and had learned a smattering of English, and attached himself as a kind of interpreter to all Europeans who visited Table Bay.

Two other larger Hottentot tribes were in the habit of occasionally visiting the bay and the Cape Peninsula, when good pasturage followed the periodical rains. At other times they ranged over the country between the bay and the distant mountains to the north-west. The Goringhinquas, called by the Dutch 'Saldanhars' and 'Kaapmans,' mustered five or six



hundred men, under an aged chief Gogosoa, known to the Dutch as the 'Fat Captain ;' and the Gorachonquas, nicknamed 'Tobacco Thieves,' who had three or four hundred fighting men, under a chief Choro.

Van Riebeck successfully encouraged the Hottentot Beachrangers to attach themselves to his settlement, and found them useful ; but ere four days had elapsed a small party of nine or ten of the Saldanhars appeared, and, to the surprise of the Dutch, were immediately attacked with great fury by Harry's people. With some difficulty Skipper Hooebsaet and some armed soldiers separated the combatants and restored peace. 'Already,' we are told, 'the Europeans had learned the bitter hostility existing between the different Hottentot clans. At no distant date they were to discover that the scene they had witnessed was typical of the ordinary existence of the savage tribes of Africa.'

On the 8th, the day after his arrival, Commandant van Riebeck held a council with his three skippers, and settled their plans for work. Exclusive of officers, they had in all 181 men. One hundred were told off to build the walls of a fort, which was marked out close behind the present Commercial Exchange. The carpenters were to put up the wooden house and store-shed which they had brought out with them. The others were to discharge cargo and catch fish.

The season of the year was against them. It was the time when no rain could be expected. Everything was parched and dried up. The earth, they said, was 'like iron under their picks ;' and the workmen, enfeebled by their long voyage, were nearly blinded by the dust which was swept before the furious south-easters—then, as now, a great drawback to comfort in Cape Town during the dry season. Wild vegetables, which the 'Haarlem's' shipwrecked crew had found in abundance, had not yet appeared ; but there were plenty of excellent fish, and the night Van Riebeck's family landed a great hippopotamus was killed, 'as heavy as two fat oxen, and with teeth five-eighths of an ell in length.'

In May three ships from home arrived, having lost 167 men from scurvy on the voyage out. They left fifty convalescents and a chaplain, with provisions for three months. The cold, stormy weather which followed caused great misery to the ill-sheltered settlers and much sickness. On June 3rd, out of 116 men, only 60 were fit for duty, and work in the fort almost ceased for want of workmen. A second hippopotamus was killed, and its flesh was a seasonable relief; but no other fresh meat could be procured.

At length the rains brought grass, and many useful antiscorbutic vegetables sprang up; game appeared; and Hendrik Boom, the gardener, dug up and laid out his garden, and speedily could supply radishes, lettuce, and cress for the sick.

Due provision was made for the ordinances of religion according to the rites of the Dutch Reformed Church; but no other was tolerated. No one was allowed to be absent from public prayers without good reason, and religious phrases abounded in the conversation and correspondence of that day. The Netherlands East India Company at that time appointed chaplains to all its large ships and important settlements. The smaller vessels and stations had 'comforters of the sick,' or 'sick visitors,' similar to catechists or evangelists in other Reformed Churches; they taught the children, conducted religious services, but did not administer the sacraments.

Willem Barents Wylant was 'sick comforter' of the 'Dromedaris.' His family was the first to occupy quarters in the fort, where, on June 6th, his wife gave birth to a son, the first child of European stock born in the colony. Mr. Backerias, chaplain of the 'Walvisch,' which arrived a month after the 'Dromedaris,' was the first ordained clergyman recorded as having officiated in the settlement and administered the sacraments.

It appears that 'Sick Comforter' Wylant, during the months of severe trial which followed their first landing, had addressed the people in his own words, instead of reading a

printed sermon, as he was bound to do. No fault was found with his doctrine; but that an unordained man should so address a congregation was a scandal in the Church. The Ecclesiastical Court at Batavia, when they heard of it, addressed the Governor-General and Council of India on the subject, and a despatch was sent to Van Riebeck desiring him to prohibit such irregularities in future. The Commander was told that the 'sick comforter' should have known better 'than to put his sickle into another's harvest, and take to himself honour which did not belong to him.'

On August 13th Van Riebeck called a 'council,' to consider what could be done to secure the valuable oil which would be afforded if the whales could be caught, which at this season entered the bay in great numbers and daily spouted before the Commandant's quarters. There were present at the council board on this occasion, besides the Commander, the master and mate of the yacht 'Goode Hoop,' and the senior corporal, whilst a clerk kept a formal record of their deliberations. It was resolved to address the admiral of the next fleet which should touch, and ask for help in extra hands to establish a whale fishery and to finish the fort.

It may be well here to explain the constitution and working of the 'councils' which, at the Cape as everywhere else, managed all matters in the Company's service. Each ship had its 'council' nominated before she left port. The principal members of these formed the 'Broad council' of a squadron or fleet. A settlement such as that at the Cape was regarded as a single ship in a fleet, and had a 'council' of its own, presided over by a 'commander and members,' nominated from time to time as a 'commissioner' of high rank passed to or from India. When the Company's ships visited Table Bay, their principal officers joined those of the Cape in a 'Broad Council,' which was presided over by the officer highest in rank, whether he belonged to the settlement or to a ship in the bay; and such a 'Broad Council' ruled important affairs on shore as well as in the fleet.

Gradations of authority were very clearly defined. The  
N.S. — VOL. II.

'Chamber of Seventeen' in Holland were supreme. Next came the 'Governor-General and Council of India' at Batavia; then admirals, governors, and commanders of settlements, each with his council, and each with his rank in the general list, according to which precedence and authority were at once settled when any two officials came together.

In September Robben Island, in Table Bay, was explored, and its resources in sea birds and their eggs, and in seals, were observed and recorded. Van Riebeck soon after visited the country behind the Devil's Peak, now known as Wynberg and Rondebosch. He was charmed with its beauty and fertility, and pressed, though unsuccessfully, on the authorities in Holland and at Batavia the advantages of introducing an industrious colony of Chinese settlers.

In this same month four men deserted, and set out inland in hopes of reaching Mozambique and thence getting to Europe. They had as arms four swords, two pistols, and a dog, with but four biscuits and some fish as provision for the way. The leader, Jan Blank, had been the first criminal convicted at the Cape. He had been tried for insolence to the commander of the 'Goode Hoop' yacht, and sentenced to be dropped from the yard-arm of the vessel into the sea, and to receive fifty lashes. When he led the deserters he kept a regular diary, written in red chalk, in which he recorded, with the usual mixture of pious ejaculations, their escapes from wild beasts and other adventures. A rhinoceros made them fly, leaving behind 'one sword and a hat.' Three of the party soon knocked up, and they resolved to return and ask for mercy. This they did after an absence of eight days. They were tried and, 'in God's name,' punished. Jan Blank was condemned to death; but his sentence was commuted, as a great favour, to 150 lashes, to be keelhauled, and to serve in chains as a slave for two years. He pleaded that he had dreamed of a mountain of gold, which he hoped to find, and excused himself by other 'suchlike childish pretences.' Two others were condemned to two years' servitude each; but all were released on New Year's Day on a promise of future good behaviour.

The failure of their scheme occurred opportunely to discourage a spirit of insubordination in the settlement. This feeling was partly owing to the non-arrival of the expected outward-bound fleet of 1652.

In October the yacht 'Goode Hoop' was sent to explore Dassen Island and Saldanha Bay, regarding which little authentic information was on record since Admiral Spilbergen had visited the coast fifty years previously. The order of the council is recorded 'in the name of the Lord,' and the yacht was to take 'as many casks as can be spared to hold sea blubber and an Ottento bag.' Soon after this Corporal Joostvander Laak was tried for being drunk and insulting the Commander. He was degraded, and 'the halberd of authority was ordered to be given to his successor in presence of the people;' whilst Herman van Vogslaar, convicted of 'wishing the purser at the devil for serving out penguins instead of pork,' was sentenced to receive one hundred blows from the butt-end of a musket.

In the same month the whole clan of the Kaapman Hottentots, moving with their cattle in search of pasture, as was their annual custom, reached Table Bay, and afforded by barter a welcome supply of fresh meat and live stock. Van Riebeck was careful to keep the trade in his own hands, as much from a desire to prevent any encroachment on the Company's privilege of exclusive trade as from a wish to guard against disputes with the natives, whose goodwill he did everything to conciliate.

Among the prices recorded at this time were three elephant's teeth for copper and tobacco, value two stivers and three pennings; and three young ostriches for one-eighth of a pound of tobacco. A sheep cost the animal's length of thin copper wire, and a little tobacco. The natives asked more for a bigger sheep; 'but,' says Van Riebeck, 'we did not accede to their demands, that they might not acquire bad habits.'

Harry the Beachranger was indispensable as the interpreter on these occasions; but he gave umbrage to the Commander

by his praise of the English and by his frequently expressed wish for the arrival of an English fleet. 'It were not amiss,' the Commander writes, 'that we should continue to coax him, with wife and children, as well as all the Strandloopers, to Robben Island.' He gave Harry no reason to suspect his mistrust; but, to prevent being entirely dependent on him, Van Riebeck took steps to train others as interpreters, and took into his own household service Harry's niece Eva, who subsequently is a prominent character in the records of Van Riebeck's time.

In December the Kaapman Hottentots moved away with their cattle, setting fire to the grass they had not consumed. Before they left they proposed to Van Riebeck to join in an attack on hostile clans, promising him all the spoil in return for his assistance. He replied he had come to trade and to be friends with all native tribes; but, from his correspondence with the directors, it appears that it was mainly their orders which restrained him. 'It would be so easy,' he observed, 'to seize ten or twelve thousand head of cattle for the use of the Company, and to send their owners to India to be sold as slaves, that it was a pity he was prohibited from doing it.'

About this time it became necessary to appoint a 'public executioner.' Michiel Grieve was selected, and Jan Pieter Stenwater was the first to suffer at his hands.

Van Riebeck seems to have been heartily tired of his work, and wrote to the Chamber of Seventeen earnestly begging to be sent to India, where he would render better service than among those 'dull, stupid, lazy, stinking people, where there is nothing to be done but to barter a few sheep and cattle.'

On January 1st, 1653, the first cabbage was cut, and other vegetables were plentiful. Soon after the first wheat was reaped, and proved to be full in the grain.

After being eight months without the arrival of a single vessel, on January 15th, 1653, a galiot arrived, the first of three swift vessels which had been sent by the directors with special

despatches to their establishments at the Cape, at Gambroon, and at Surat, announcing war between the Netherlands and the Commonwealth of England.

'The English had beheaded their king, had adopted a new form of government, and determined not to live in friendship with their neighbours. The Dutch ambassador in London had done his best to maintain peace, without effect. It was plain England was bent on appropriating all trade to herself, on acquiring the "dominium maris," the sovereignty of the high seas; and to this no nation, especially the Free Netherlands, would ever submit. The paths of the ocean must be open to every flag. For eighty years the States had fought for freedom, and had acquired renown, not only for the generation then living, but for posterity. They were at war with Portugal, and, the Almighty knew, did not seek another enemy; but they could not submit to the pretensions of England; and, depending on God's blessing on their good cause, they were resolved to oppose such claims with all their power.'

The English would probably send a fleet to St. Helena to intercept homeward-bound Indiamen. The Dutch ships were therefore ordered to keep together, to avoid that part of the Atlantic, to go west and north of the British Isles to the Norway coast, and so homeward. The commander of the fort Good Hope was to strengthen his garrison with twenty-five or thirty soldiers from the first ships which might call, and to guard against surprise.

Every effort was made to carry out these orders; but with light guns which would carry only half-way to the anchorage, with a discontented garrison, and a fort commanded from the hills round, it was well that no enemy appeared. In a few weeks many Dutch ships arrived, and re-inforced the garrison and replenished their stores, which were nearly run out. A new native tribe appeared, and sold some cattle and tusks of ivory; the gardens flourished, and by the second winter Van Riebeck had ample supplies of all kinds; but there was a plague of wild beasts—lions, leopards, and



wild cats, which preyed on the cattle, sheep, and poultry of the settlement.

In August the outward-bound fleet arrived, and Van Riebeck called a 'Broad Council,' at which he represented that he had no one of higher rank than a sergeant to replace him as commander in case of need. A young man, Jacob Ryniers, who held the rank of 'junior merchant,' was selected to remain with him, holding a commission as 'seconde.' Three months after his appointment Ryniers married Elizabeth van Opdorp, Van Riebeck's niece and ward. But this was not the first marriage celebrated at the Cape. The proceedings of the council record that on Saturday, August 30th, 1653, Adolphus ten Bengenvoort, of Amsterdam, boatswain, bachelor, and Zanneken Willems, also of Amsterdam, spinster, both on board the 'King David,' bound for India, applied to be married 'according to the promises they had made to each other;' and the council, 'assisted by the principal persons belonging to the said ship,' finding no impediment, gave permission. Two banns were published the following Sunday, a third on Monday, and the solemnisation of the marriage was then ordered to take place before the council.

Ryniers' first service was a mission to Saldanha Bay to open trade with some Hottentots. He was about to sail when 'Harry' informed the Commander that a large ship was then lying in Saldanha Bay, and Ryniers, with six soldiers, was sent to reconnoitre. She proved to be a French ship, whose crew had been engaged for six months killing seals on the islands off the coast. The crew were much discontented, as they had lived for months only on what the islands afforded. Their ship was about to sail for Rochelle, with a full cargo of skins and oil, and her skipper politely offered to take letters and forward them to Amsterdam.

Ryniers' report caused much anxiety to the governor and his council at the Cape. It was their clear duty to the Company, by fair means or foul, to keep foreign interlopers away from the settlement. So, whilst one Verberg, who understood French, was sent with a civil message and letters to the



French skipper, four men were sent overland with instructions to entice some of the French sailors to desert, so that the ship might be crippled, and her owners might be thus discouraged from sending her back again on a similar errand.

The French captain, however, suspected that some evil designs against him were intended, and took extra precautions, so that only four of his men deserted and returned to Table Bay with the Dutch emissaries.

The travellers overland saw many rhinoceroses, and were twice obliged to make a detour to avoid troops of elephants.

On October 18th the second child of European parentage was born in the fort. He was the son of Van Riebeck, and afterwards rose to great distinction in his country's service, becoming in 1709, when fifty-six years of age, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies.

On the morning of Sunday, October 19th, all the settlement, with the exception of the sentinels and two herdsmen, had been listening to a sermon read by Dominie Wylant, the 'sick comforter,' when it was reported that Harry, the Hottentot interpreter, had, during the time of Divine service, left his hut with his family and household effects, and his niece Eva was also missing. Soon after one of the herdsmen came in, and said that, having come to the fort for some food, on his return to the pasture ground he found David Janssen, his companion, lying dead from assegai wounds, and the cattle, driven off by the Beachranger Hottentots, who had been loitering about the settlement, were just disappearing round the Lion's Head. An ineffectual attempt was made to follow up the robbers, but the cattle were not recovered, and this loss added seriously to the labours and privations of the garrison. The natives kept aloof, and this first instance of the characteristic opening scene of South African warfare created the most bitter ill-feeling amongst the soldiers and workmen towards all natives, so that Van Riebeck was obliged to make the regulations, prohibiting intercourse with the natives, more stringent than they were before.

This occurrence gave occasion to a correspondence

between Van Riebeck and the directors which curiously illustrates the different views taken regarding the policy to be observed towards the natives. The directors ordered that only the actual murderer of the youth David Janssen should be put to death, if discovered, and that, if necessary, Harry should be sent prisoner to Batavia, but none of the other natives were to be molested; that only the same number of cattle as had been stolen should be taken in reprisal, and those only from the actual robbers.

Commander van Riebeck replied that it would be impossible to identify the real murderer, and the robbers had no property which could be seized. Reprisals on their allies would doubtless cause a war, unless the whole were made prisoners at once. But the provocation received would, he argued, fully justify such a step, as the only way of relieving the settlement from their depredations; and he pointed out the advantages of securing ten or twelve hundred head of cattle and a large body of slaves.

For some months few natives visited the fort. The supply of flat copper bars, the only currency which would buy cattle, ran short, and Bushmen had plundered some of the Hottentot tribes of all their cattle. In default of beef the workmen had to eat penguins and salted seal's flesh; and, for want of draught oxen, the men were obliged to drag their timber and materials by manual labour. At length, in December and early in 1654, the outward-bound India fleet arrived; but they brought few oxen, and when they had been supplied with vegetables and had left, no hope of further relief could be looked for till the homeward-bound fleet from Batavia should arrive. On March 6th it is mentioned, as an instance of the straits to which they were reduced for want of food, that the people ate, from hunger, a dead 'basmanneken,' or baboon, found on the mountain. It was 'as large as a small calf, with long hairy arms and legs.' Van Riebeck did his best to keep his little garrison occupied. Abortive attempts to smelt what they supposed was silver ore amused them for a time; Robben Island was occupied; the few sheep left were moved

over there, some rabbits were turned loose, and a sealing station was established on the island. Some of the stolen cattle were recognised among the herds of a native tribe, and Van Riebeck, resisting the suggestions of his followers and his own inclination to take vengeance for the theft and for the murder of his herdsman, repurchased some of the stolen cows, and gradually restored more amicable relations.

April 6th, 1654, was the second anniversary of the founding of the settlement, and was ordered to be observed 'as a holiday and day of thanksgiving.' 'Owing to the scarcity of bread and meat,' we are told, 'it was impossible for them to have a feast; but they abstained from labour, and listened to a long sermon, and thus made the most they could of the occasion.' The people were reduced to two meals a day, but not a sail appeared from the eastward. On the 18th the galiot 'Tulp' arrived from home, with information that secret orders had been sent to Batavia in 1653 that the next return fleet should not call at the Cape, but pass on to St. Helena. There was then in store only sufficient bread for five or six weeks on the reduced scale, and no pease, beans, barley, or rice. So the clerk, Frederick Verberg, was sent in the 'Tulp' to St. Helena for supplies, and with him was sent Willem Gerrits, assistant-gardener, to bring young apple and orange trees from the island.

The 'Tulp' returned in forty-one days, having made, as the pious governor acknowledged, by special Divine favour, a very rapid and successful voyage. Verberg had found the admiral with his fleet at anchor, and the admiral, in his council, not only furnished him liberally with supplies of provisions and young trees, but promoted him to the rank of 'junior merchant' and 'seconde' at the Cape.

This success appears to have encouraged Van Riebeck to despatch Verberg in the 'Tulp' on a voyage of discovery to the east coast and Madagascar. A year before among the passengers in the homeward-bound fleet from China who had visited the Cape was a German Jesuit missionary, Martinus Martini by name. He gave Van Riebeck much information,

which he professed to have got from brethren of his order, regarding Natal and the regions to the north-east, which led Van Riebeck to regard them as 'the true Ophir whence Solomon imported his gold.' He had at the time been so impressed by Martini's information that the council with difficulty had persuaded him to defer sending off the galiot on a voyage of discovery. Gold, ambergris, ivory, ebony, and slaves were to be got there, and the Portuguese rarely visited that coast. To this information Van Riebeck now added in his instructions extracts from Linschoten. The galiot started, but it was the winter season, and as she ran along the coast the heavy surf prevented a landing. In the latitude of Delagoa Bay Verberg stood eastward for Madagascar, and having obtained a cargo of rice from friendly natives at Antongil Bay, returned to the Cape.

Meantime two vessels had arrived with supplies. One had captured on her passage and brought with her an English sloop of seventy tons ; the other, the 'Haas,' brought a supply of rice from Batavia, and a Javanese convict sentenced to banishment and hard labour for life—the first of the present prosperous and industrious class known at the Cape as 'Malays.' The 'Haas' also brought orders from the Governor-General and Council of India to set apart a day for prayer and thanksgiving for their successes in the war with England. The Dutch had captured five rich prizes in the Indian seas and had not yet lost a single ship.

On August 15th a fast-sailing yacht, less than three months from Texel, brought news of peace between the States and the Lord Protector Cromwell. The English were thenceforward to be treated as friends. Accordingly, when the English ship 'East India Merchant' arrived, the officers and crew were hospitably entertained and liberally supplied with fresh vegetables. Of the value of such supplies we may form an idea from the records of the arrival of the large fleet of twenty-one vessels sent out after the peace with England was concluded. Some of the ships had lost fifty men on the passage out, and when they dropped anchor had a hundred more helpless from

scurvy. It soon became the custom to exchange the scurvy-stricken men for fresh hands who had recovered by a stay at the Cape; and so great was the advantage from this practice that time so spent at the Cape was subsequently added to the six months within which any captain making a voyage to Batavia received a premium of 600 gulden.

Commander van Riebeck records how at this time he turned to account a lot of Madagascar ebony, 'very bad and cracked,' by exchanging it with the English captain for two butts of English beer. In a long despatch he tells the directors of the onerous burden of entertainment of all comers, which he has to bear, for want of some public place of entertainment. He begs they will at least send him five or six dozen pewter plates, and some dishes or basins; and he notes that 'the consumption of linen for napkins and tablecloths is no trifle, for every one carries off what napkins and dishes he can, thinking it only Company's property.'

During this summer the sealing establishments at Dassen Island and Saldanha Bay were extended. The 'Tulp' brought a few horses from St. Helena which had been left by a ship homeward-bound from Batavia, and the first vine stocks from the Rhine were brought by an outward-bound Indiaman, the 'Kaapmans.'

The Kaapmans had of late visited Table Valley in large 1654 parties and in no friendly spirit; and the Hottentots had begun to see that the settlement meant permanent occupation, which was not what they desired. They erected huts on the very edge of the moat, and when requested to move further off said the ground was theirs and they would build where they pleased. There was much to cause serious uneasiness. Every unguarded thing was stolen, even the brass buttons from the coats of children playing outside the fort. Men had to work armed, and sentries were doubled. The Commander believed Harry was at the bottom of all the mischief, and wished to communicate with him and get him to return to the fort; but where he was no one could say. In this difficulty Van Riebeck thought of making friends

with some of the remoter tribes, who were hostile to the Kaapmans; but no one knew anything about them, and he determined to send out an expedition to explore. Volunteers were called for, and foremost amongst the men who offered was Jan Wintervogel. He had served the Netherlands West India Company in Brazil, and had helped to discover a silver mine for his employers. He had crossed the continent 1655 to the Pacific, and in March 1655 was serving as a soldier in the garrison at the Cape. Seven others volunteered with him, and they started with provisions for three weeks, a few copper bars and beads for barter, with instructions to explore the country, to try and make friends with some inland clans, and to search for precious metals.

Wintervogel seems to have started in the direction of Malmesbury, and soon met a party of diminutive Bushmen, who were preparing to assail his party with bows and arrows, when Wintervogel advanced with friendly gestures and some tobacco in his hands. This was accepted, and the Bushmen laid aside their weapons for a parley. Wintervogel learned that they had neither cattle nor huts, and were at war with all their neighbours. He subsequently met small parties of friendly Hottentots, and a large horde with great herds of cattle, which they seemed willing to part with for flat copper bars and tobacco; but they would not come near the fort whilst the Goringhaiquas were near. After an absence of fourteen days the party returned without accident, save that Jan de Vos, 'having eaten too freely of bitter almonds,' died.

On June 23rd Harry unexpectedly returned with fifty strangers and some cattle for sale; he did not account for his long absence, but indignantly denied any part in the robbery of the cattle or in Janssen's murder. The Commander, glad to get him back, accepted his excuses, and a brisk cattle trade was established till, in the spring, the stranger tribe left the peninsula and Harry proposed a trading expedition into the interior.

This was a grave question, and Van Riebeck convened his council. His trusty seconde Verberg was absent in the

'Tulp,' but the Commander, the pilot, the sergeant, and two corporals sat in council, with Roelof de Man as clerk to record their deliberations, and determined to send with Harry and his Hottentot friends nine soldiers under Corporal Willem Muller, and four pack-oxen to carry their provisions, copper bars, brass-wire beads, pipes, and tobacco for barter. Not much came of the expedition. They coasted False Bay and were absent four weeks, when provisions ran short and Corporal Muller and his soldiers returned, leaving Harry and his native allies to prosecute the trading trip.

He did not return till December 8th, when he brought thirteen head of cattle. But it afterwards appeared he had bought large herds for himself.

Whilst he was away a new clan rich in cattle visited the peninsula. They came from beyond Saldanha Bay, under a chief Gonnema, afterwards known as the 'Black Captain,' from his dusky complexion. In November ten or twelve thousand head of horned cattle were grazing within an hour's walk of the fort. His encampment at Rondebosch contained fully 200 huts ranged in a circle of wattled fence, forming a 'corral,' a word unknown in Dutch or Hottentot, probably imported from America, and soon corrupted into 'kraal.'

Hundreds of cattle and sheep were obtained from Gonnema's people by barter for copper. Two Hottentots were employed as interpreters. One had picked up a little Dutch from the Dassen Island seal-hunters, and was known as 'Klap Dass;' the other was nicknamed 'Dornan,' from his meek face and likeness to an honest Dominic—a character he did not subsequently well sustain.

In September a cutter of eighteen or twenty tons' burden, built entirely of Cape timber, was launched, and named the 'Robbejacht.' The 'Tulp' made another voyage to St. Helena, and brought back fruit trees, pigs, and two horses. She then went on to Madagascar, where she took in fourteen slaves and some rice, and was not again heard of till March 1657, when four of her crew returned in a French ship, and reported that they had been wrecked in December 1655, and



had reached the French settlement of St. Mary, where eleven had died of fever, including Frederick Verberg, the active seconde who had been married only five months before he left the Cape.

In this year the directors first resolved to encourage the emigration of free families, to be settled near the fort, with a view to strengthen the garrison and reduce the Company's expenditure.

In furtherance of this plan Van Riebeck allowed some of the more respectable of the Company's servants to cultivate gardens for themselves free of rent for three years, and to sell the produce to ships calling in the bay; the women and children were at the same time struck off rations, and a money payment made instead to the heads of each family. Hendrik Boom, the head gardener, was a steady, industrious man. His wife was accustomed to dairy work, and at a formal meeting of the council it was resolved to lease the Company's cows to Annetje de Boerin, as she was called. She was to pay fifteen gulden per cow, to supply milk and butter to the Commander at fixed rates—but he was not to demand all her supply—and she might sell the rest freely to ships' people at the best prices she could obtain. She subsequently received a license to open a house of accommodation for visitors from the ships, and a similar privilege was granted to the wife of Sergeant Jan van Harwarden.

It was not till 1657 that the final arrangements for this change of policy were made, after much discussion and correspondence with the directors of the Company at home. On February 21st in that year, the first allotments of land were made to the free burghers, who afterwards formed so important a part of the colonial population.

Before the close of the year 1655, among the many ships which called were two English; one had been eight months out from London, had lost a large portion of her crew, and the survivors were nearly helpless from scurvy. The sick were taken into hospital, and all were most hospitably entertained, as though they had been servants of the Company.



It is noted that 2*d.* per diem was the charge made for as large a quantity of fresh vegetables as each man could consume.

The construction of a large hospital, and a substantial landing jetty of heavy log frames filled with large stones, are recorded in 1656. The galiot was sent to explore the island of Tristan d'Acunha, but no harbour was found. Admiral Ryklof van Goens, returning from India, suggested cutting a ship canal from Table Bay to False Bay, so as to isolate the Cape Peninsula; but Van Riebeck, reporting in detail on the project, showed that it would be enormously expensive, and not effectual as a measure of defence.

Much interesting correspondence is recorded on the interchange of useful trees and vegetables between the Cape and Europe. With the exception of potatoes and maize, most European vegetables had been introduced, and thrive so luxuriantly that Cape seeds were sent on in great quantities to Batavia; fruit trees, oaks, firs, and vines succeeded admirably. Horses had been imported from Java, and pigs, sheep, dogs, and rabbits from Europe. The directors, with a forethought which would have been invaluable in Australia, directed that the rabbits they sent should not be turned loose, except on the islands, lest they should damage the crops.

The frequent failure of grain crops, owing to the violent south-easterly winds, induced Van Riebeck to try their cultivation on a spot at the back of the Devil's Peak, where the woodcutters found that the wind was rarely more than a pleasant breeze. From a round grove of thorn trees—Ronde Doorn Boschen—the place was called Rondebosch, now one of the most delightful suburbs of Cape Town.

The pilfering habits of the Hottentots at this time caused much annoyance. The natives were supposed to be under the jurisdiction of Harry—now become, through his connection with the Company, a rich captain, owner of large flocks and herds. Van Riebeck enforced Harry's responsibility for his people by detaining his cattle till compensation was made for vexatious thefts; but further difficulties regarding pas-

turage continued, till an arrangement was made that Harry should undertake the whole supply of the cattle needed for the settlement and shipping at fixed charges; he, however, broke his agreements and moved away.

The records contain frequent references to the ravages of wild animals. An early entry notes that 'it appeared as if the lions would take the fort by storm, that they might get at the sheep,' and it was frequently not safe to go out at night. Two cattle guards were wounded by a leopard, and the Commandant, walking in his garden, was met by a lion, and a fine stud horse was killed and devoured close to the fort. The council offered rewards for the destruction of ravenous beasts; 25*s.* for a lion, 16*s.* 8*d.* for a hyena, and 12*s.* 6*d.* for a leopard—large sums when the Commander himself received only 7*l.* 10*s.* per month, raised this year to 10*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* The skin of the first lion shot was hung up in the great hall where Divine service was held. At the same time, however, game laws for the protection of animals fit for food were enacted; two hunters were employed to shoot antelopes, &c., for the use of the garrison, and no one else was allowed to shoot any but beasts of prey, under penalty of 40*s.* and forfeiture of his gun.

The winter of 1656 was a sickly season—a punishment, as the council considered, for the sins of the people—so June 29th was set apart as a day of prayer and humiliation, and the people were specially reminded of their shortcomings in sitting down to meals without saying grace—an omission which the council ordered to be punished by a fine of 1*s.* for the first omission, 2*s.* for the second, besides 'arbitrary correction.' A 'placaat' was subsequently issued prohibiting bathing or washing in the stream whence water for culinary purposes was taken—a practice which may have had something to do with the unhealthiness of the season.

In October the council was rearranged. It was to consist of the Commandant, and Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, and bookkeeper Roelof de Man, as ordinary members, with the addition, when sitting as a court of justice, of the con-

stable of the fortress and two corporals. Caspar van Werde was clerk and recorder of proceedings, and acted as fiscal.

As there was no clergyman, marriages took place on Sunday mornings after the reading of the sermon, before the secretary of the council, after the banns had been thrice published by the sick comforter. Occasionally, if there happened to be a chaplain on board a ship in harbour, he officiated.

Among the marriages registered is one of 'Jan Wonters to Catharina, a freed slave, daughter of Athorire of Bengal.' Such marriages seem to have been encouraged, as Van Riebeck has left on record his opinion of the advantages derived by the Portuguese from the large mixed population of their Indian possessions as an addition to their garrisons, and he thought it advisable that the Netherlanders should have a similar link with their coloured subjects. 'A hundred years later,' says the historian, 'very different views were held; but in the middle of the seventeenth century no distinction whatever appears to have been made between people on account of colour. A profession of Christianity placed black and white on the same level. The possessions of the heathen were the inheritance of God's people, and could be taken from them without sin. The heathen themselves could be enslaved, but Christians could not be kept in bondage.' He notes, as instances, that a black professing Christianity was spoken of in precisely the same language as a European. Thus Catharina, the Bengalese slave girl, when freed by Admiral Bogaert and baptised, was styled 'de eerbare jonge dochter,' and the Commander's niece was spoken of in precisely the same words.

Van Riebeck asked for explicit instructions as to the treatment of European visitors, and was instructed by the directors to let them fish and take in fresh water freely; but they were not to be supplied with refreshments, which were provided only for the Company's own ships. Courtesy was to be observed, and the Commander was to use discretion and not give offence needlessly. Out of forty-four

vessels which called in 1656 five were English and four French. They were allowed to purchase vegetables from private settlers, and the Commandant exchanged presents with them; but, in reporting this to the directors, he excused his liberality by explaining that the beef he sent on board was of unsound cattle.

- 1657 The records of 1657 are much occupied by long and formal discussions on the terms to be granted to the free burghers, who in two small parties of four or five families accepted the terms offered by Van Riebeck and his council. They settled in two little 'colonies,' as they called themselves, on the banks of the Liesbeck, in what are now the populous suburbs of Cape Town. Ere the rains fell they had completed their houses of sod walls and thatch, and were ready to break up the plots of ground. On March 17th a ship arrived from Holland bearing the flag of Admiral Ryklof van Goens, afterwards Governor-General of the Netherlands and India. He was empowered, as High Commissioner, to examine and revise all local arrangements, and he made many modifications in the terms Van Riebeck had granted to the free burghers. These were generally in the direction of greater liberality to the free burghers—in the area granted, which was raised to about twenty-six acres; in the term of freedom from rent and taxes, which was extended to twelve years; in the supply and repair of farming implements; in the terms on which they might buy and sell cattle on their own account; and in the admission of a 'burgher councillor' to the council of justice whenever cases affecting free burghers were to be tried. This councillor was to hold office for one year.

There were, in April 1657, exactly one hundred persons in South Africa in receipt of wages from the Company, and as the free burghers increased the Company's servants were to be reduced to seventy. The population of the settlement, all told, numbered 134 Company's servants and burghers, men, women, and children, three male and eight female slaves.

The terms granted, and the restrictions on free action of the burghers, would seem intolerably vexatious at the present day ; but at that time everything was arranged to support the monopoly of a powerful company, able to maintain fleets of its own and carry on wars without drawing on the resources of the State.

Among the names of the free burghers carefully recorded at that time may be recognised the ancestors of some of the largest, wealthiest, and most influential of modern colonial families.

Admiral and High Commissioner van Goens left very copious instructions on almost every branch of the administration, including the regulation of weights and measures, which were to be all of Dutch standard. To restrict private trade while promoting the Company's interests, and to discourage visits from foreign ships, were the objects of many regulations. The natives were to be treated kindly, so as to secure their goodwill. Suspected offenders were to be arrested and sent to Robben Island, and if convicted kept there for two or three years. Murderers were to be executed, but in cases where natives were condemned the Commander should endeavour to have the execution performed by the natives themselves. Slaves were not to be allowed to speak any foreign language.

Three weeks after Van Goens left three burghers made use of his license to start on a trading journey inland to purchase cattle. They travelled eastward, and fell in with a large and friendly Hottentot tribe, but could not sleep in their huts on account of the vermin and filth, nor in the open air for fear of lions till the Hottentots formed for their guests shelters of thorn bushes. Only a few cattle were purchased, but a fine district was explored, and named by the travellers, from its fertility, 'Hottentots' Holland.'

After a long absence, one day in July, Harry presented himself and complained of the cultivation he saw on the banks of the Liesbeck. He asked, Where were the Hottentots' cattle to graze? Van Riebeck recommended them to stay

where they then were, eight or ten hours' journey from the fort. Harry replied they were a nomad, pastoral people, and if excluded from the peninsula would be ruined by their enemies ; and he made objections to the Commandant's suggestion that they should live south of Table Mountain, at Hout's Bay or on the slopes of the Lion's Head. Van Riebeck's despatches at this time are full of his plans for meeting this, the first, and last, and ever-existing phase of the native difficulty. His favourite scheme was to build a wall with redoubts at intervals across the isthmus ; to entice a large party of natives inside, with their families and cattle ; to allow none but the men to go out, with permission to purchase cattle with goods supplied to them by the Company on easy terms, the women and children being kept as hostages for the return of the men ; but, on account of the expense, the scheme found no favour with the directors.

The Europeans had ascertained that all the small clans near them were members of one large tribe, of which Gogoso, 'the Fat Captain,' was the chief. The clans often made small forays on one another to carry off women or cattle, but the intertribal wars were waged with great bitterness, and beyond a few names Van Riebeck could learn little of the tribes at variance with his neighbours under Gogoso. The predatory habits of the Bushmen were well known, and they were regarded as the enemies of all mankind.

Eva seems to have been the great authority for many marvellous stories which Commander van Riebeck carefully recorded. She was now fifteen or sixteen years old, and able to speak Dutch fluently. The ordinary interpreter, 'Dornan with the honest face,' had gone on to Batavia with High Commissioner van Goens, and Eva now acted for him. She told of the Namaquas, an inland tribe with white skins and long hair, well clothed, and having black slaves to cultivate for them. They lived in stone houses and had religious services just like the Netherlanders. Others had gold and precious stones in abundance. A Hottentot bringing cattle for sale corroborated Eva. He recognised everything shown

him except a diamond. One of his wives had been brought up in the house of a great lord named Chobona, and possessed abundance of gold ornaments and jewels, but he objected to Van Riebeck's suggestion that he should bring her to the fort by saying she was accustomed to sit at home and be waited on by numerous servants, and could not bear the journey. Van Riebeck's offer to send a waggon for her was rejected, as 'the sight of Europeans would frighten her to death.'

All this increased the Commander's anxiety to penetrate into the interior, to reach Monomotassa and its capital city on the river Spirito Sancto, where gold was to be found, and to establish trade with the Namaquas and Benguelas. The High Commissioner, Van Goens, entered into his plans and saw little difficulty in carrying them out, and instructed Van Riebeck to use all reasonable exertions for the purpose.

In October a party of seven servants of the Company, eight free burghers, and four Hottentots, all under command of Abraham Gabhema, fiscal and secretary to the council, started to explore the interior and to buy cattle for the fleet expected. They shaped their course towards Klappmuts, a mountain in the distance, so named from its resemblance to a flat nightcap, and now well known to Cape sportsmen as a favourite meet of the Cape foxhounds. Thence crossing the low watershed, they found a large stream running northwards, which, from the barrier of mountains beyond, they named the Great Berg River. Here was a beautiful, well-watered valley. The mountain range to the west was crowned by domes of bare grey granite, which sparkled in the sun. To one of these the travellers gave the name of the Paarl (Pearl), whilst another was called the Diamant (Diamond). The former name is still retained by the large and quaint Dutch town which extends along that side of the valley. Numerous kraals of Hottentots were visited along the banks of the river, in which many hippopotami were seen, and the beautiful slopes of the hills and side valleys abounded in large game—zebras, rhinoceroses, &c.



The party returned without purchasing many cattle, but their report gave a great impulse to the spirit of discovery and exploration.

A kind of lighthouse on Robben Island, a huge magazine whose site is still known as the Groote Schuur, and a new channel for the stream falling into Table Bay are chronicled among the public works of the year.

- 1658 In February 1658 another expedition, larger and better equipped than any previously sent out, was started to explore and purchase cattle. It consisted of fifteen Europeans and two Hottentots, with pack oxen for their baggage, under Sergeant Jan van Harwarden. The land surveyor, Pieter Potter, was sent to keep a journal and make a map of the country traversed. The sergeant's instructions were to learn all he could about the native tribes, to enquire for ivory, ostrich feathers, musk civet, gold, and precious stones, and to look out for suitable sites for a trading station. This expedition crossed the Great Berg River and discovered the Little Berg River, and climbing the high range, looked down into what was afterwards known as the Tulbagh basin and the valley of Breede River; but the heat of the weather had parched the ground, and the rich valleys looked bare and barren. A few natives were met, but the party lost two men from dysentery. On the last night of their return journey, as they were sitting down eating their last ration of bread, an enormous lion sprang on one of the party. Sergeant van Harwarden had his firelock at hand, shot the lion through the head, and saved the man's life, but the latter lost his right arm.

In 1658 is recorded the first large importation of negro slaves and the commencement of the troubles which have ever attended their possession. There were at the time only ten or twelve slaves in the colony, imported from Madagascar and Batavia; but there was a great want of labour, and two yachts were sent out to cruise off St. Paul de Loanda, and to endeavour to capture a Portuguese slave ship. Meantime the 'Amersfoort' Indiaman arrived in Table Bay from Holland, having captured on her voyage a Portuguese ship



bound from Angola to Brazil with 500 slaves on board. The Portuguese vessel was old, and it was decided she could not stand a voyage to the Cape ; so she was allowed to proceed on her voyage, after the Dutch captors had taken out 250 of the most valuable slaves, including all the big boys and girls ; 80 of these died before they reached Table Bay, and the rest were landed in a miserable condition.

A few weeks later one of the yachts arrived with 228 slaves, the survivors of 271 purchased at Popo. There were now more slaves than were wanted ; so 172 were sent on to Batavia, 89 were sold on credit to free burghers, at from £4 3*s.* 4*d.* to £8 6*s.* 8*d.* each, and the rest were retained by Government.

Regulations were made for their disposal ; one of the first of these was that they should be taught Christianity. On April 17th a school for the slaves was opened by Pieter van der Stael, the Commandant's brother-in-law, who had succeeded Willem Barents Wylant as sick comforter.

The scholars were named, and instructed for a short time daily. The Commandant visited the school to see that all was in order, and records his observation that rewards of a glass of brandy and a little tobacco had a good effect in encouraging application to study. The slaves were fed on sea birds and seal's flesh, of which Van Riebeck notes that they were very fond. It was supplied at 4*s.* 2*d.* the hundred pounds, from Saldanha Bay, by four free burghers who brought eggs, fish, oil, seal skins, salted birds, and dried seal's flesh from the coast and islands.

The slaves were subject to the caprice of their owners ; regulations were framed to protect them from gross ill-treatment, but they soon commenced to run away. They knew their own country lay to the northward, and their constant desertions caused great alarm to the burghers, who had bought their slaves on credit, and when they deserted had no hope of freeing themselves from debt. They suspected the Hot-tentots of enticing their slaves away, and the Commandant thought their suspicions well founded.

A few weeks before this the burgher gardener, Hendrick Boom, had lost seven head of his cattle in broad daylight. Old Gogosoa, 'the Fat Captain' of the Kaapmans clan, was then within reach, and Boom's friends seized him, and declared they would keep him in custody till the cattle were restored. The Commandant was at first alarmed at this bold act; but the whole of the Kaapmans clan set to work to search, and soon found and restored the cattle. When the slaves deserted, the principal burghers assembled and urged the Commander to adopt the same mode of recovering them. He assembled his council, and after due deliberation the proposal was adopted. Gogosoa's son and heir, his brother, and another Hottentot were sitting in the courtyard of the fort, unsuspecting of danger, when they were arrested, confined under a guard in the surgeon's kitchen, and informed they would not be released till the runaway slaves were brought back.

Next morning (Sunday, June 23rd) there was great commotion among the Kaapmans near the fort. The council was called together to deliberate, when the interpreter Dornan 'with the simple face' appeared. He had returned from Batavia much improved in his knowledge of Dutch, and so much attached to Europeans that he begged to be called 'Anthony, so that he might have a name like a Hollander.' He recommended the seizure and detention of Jan Con, a chief of the Beachrangers. No one suspected that clan of having decoyed away slaves, but Jan Con's arrest would show all men that the council did not favour one clan more than another; so Jan Con, who was in the courtyard, was arrested and confined with the Kaapman prisoners.

Eva thereupon presented herself in the council chamber, and passionately protested the innocence of the Beachrangers, whilst she accused the Kaapmans of all manner of roguery. Dornan returned and raked up old stories of Jan Con's sheep-stealing, the murder of David Janssen, and the cattle robbery. Whilst they were mutually abusing each other's clan Harry appeared, and stated that one of the prisoners had suggested that a chief of the Gorachouquas should be seized, so that all

three clans might be interested in the recovery of the fugitive slaves. The council thereupon resolved that the Gorachouquas should be enticed into the fort with fair words, and the chief should then be arrested and confined with the others. But the Gorachouquas had taken alarm and fled. The Kaapmans and Beachrangers set out and scoured the country, capturing two fugitive slaves. Three others were compelled by hunger to return, and the Hottentots then gave up the pursuit.

Ten days afterwards the state of affairs had not improved. The council was again summoned and two officers of ships in the bay were called in as assessors.

The Hottentots by this time had been cleared of complicity in the flight of slaves; but it was feared the flight of the Gorachouquas would lead to a stoppage of cattle trade. The prisoners were becoming desperate, fearing they would be put to death. They offered to purchase their release with cattle and accused Harry as deserving imprisonment.

All his old misdeeds were recounted. His cattle had been purchased with goods entrusted to his care, and therefore of right belonged to the honourable Company. It was resolved to entice him into the fort, imprison him, and seize his cattle, then grazing near the Salt River. An hour later Harry was in prison, and Sergeant van Harwarden, with a party of soldiers, were on their way to seize his cattle.

But later in the evening the council was again hastily called together. Van Harwarden had been resisted at Harry's kraal. Assegais had been hurled at him, and before he could drive off the cattle one Hottentot had been killed and another wounded. There were in garrison only ninety-seven men, of whom twenty were invalids, left behind by the last fleet. Twenty soldiers, with arms, ammunition, and two cannons, were landed from the ship 'Prins Willem,' then in the bay; the free burghers were called out and ordered to arm themselves, under penalty of 8*s.* 4*d.* on each man who did not possess or failed to apply for a firelock.

Next morning one of the prisoners was released and sent

with a friendly message to Gogoso. The 'Fat Captain' was invited to come to the fort and make an imperishable alliance, as the Commander was disposed to settle all differences amicably. The 'Fat Captain' agreed and returned with the messenger, and a formal treaty was made. Bygones were to be bygones. In future offenders on each side were to be punished by their countrymen. Up to the Liesbeck and Salt Rivers the Dutch cattle alone were to graze, but, if attacked by enemies, the Kaapmans were to be free to remove to the back of the Lion's Head, under protection of Europeans. Arrangements were made as to cattle trade, recovery of fugitive slaves, and supplies to passing ships. The Kaapmans prisoners were then released, and presents were interchanged.

The Beachrangers wished to make a similar treaty, but Dornan was inveterate against them, and, acting on his advice, the council resolved to remove Harry and two others to Robben Island, there to remain till the murderers of David Janssen were surrendered. After two months, at the urgent solicitation of their friends, all were released except Harry, who seems to have had no friend in the fort except Eva.

Meantime the slaves continued to desert, and only a few were recovered. The burghers brought back all that remained, and begged the Commander to relieve them of their engagements, preferring such Europeans as they could obtain, and the council resolved to put all male slaves, except infants and old men, in chains, as the only mode of keeping them.

For some months there was no difficulty with the Hot-tentots; but they kept aloof, and the supply of cattle began to run short. In October a large and powerful clan, called Cochoqua, at perpetual feud with the Kaapmans, came within a few hours' journey, and Eva, whose sister was wife of their chief, Oedaso, managed to open a profitable barter for cattle. Eva visited them, first alone, and then with Sergeant van Harwarden and a trading party. She gave them an account of the Christian faith as she had learned it in the Commandant's household, to which they listened with attention.

Mr. van Riebeck records with pleasure that she assured him that, though she left her Dutch clothes behind and put on a greasy kaross when she visited her sister, yet she never forgot what she had been taught, nor omitted to say her prayers night and morning.

In December the free burghers remonstrated ineffectually against the withdrawal of several privileges granted to them by High Commissioner van Goens. These privileges related chiefly to freedom of intercourse with natives and with vessels in harbour; but Van Riebeck and his council were immovable, though they supported another application of the free burghers to be allowed a better price for their wheat.

In this year the culture of the vine was extended to Rondebosch and Wynberg, maize was also introduced from the coast of Guinea, and regulations were published to improve the breed of sheep by prohibiting the burghers from keeping any but imported rams.

The ravages of scurvy on board vessels long at sea, and the supply of fresh provisions and other refreshments to the crews, reduced by sickness and death, occupy large portions of the records of this period. Next in frequency and importance was correspondence regarding the ever-recurring difficulty of a supply of cheap labour. The Chamber of Seventeen, when asked to send out families of poor but industrious farming people, pointed out the difficulty of inducing such persons to emigrate to a country of which little beyond the name was known to them; but arrangements were made to send out the friends of anyone in the colony when they wished to join him, and strict regulations were made for the proper care of females, whether wives, daughters, or affianced brides, on their passage out.

An abortive expedition to discover the Namaquas led to the tracing the Berg River as far as St. Helena Bay. A small quantity of wine was made this season for the first time in South Africa, by Van Riebeck himself, who was the only person in the settlement acquainted with the process. The fruit used was the muscatel and other round white grapes,

the Spanish grapes, it is noted on February 2nd, not being yet ripe. Attempts were also made to brew ale, without much success, owing to the repeated failure of attempts to grow hops.

A militia was organised of free burghers, on the model of the regular garrison. A Council of Militia managed all details, and submitted annually to the Council of Policy a double list of fit men to be office bearers, from which list all appointments were made, and the same plan was followed in the selection of burgher councillors.

Jan van Harwarden, Van Riebeck's trusty sergeant, died in February, a few months after he had been promoted to the rank of ensign by the admiral and Broad Council of the return fleet, and other minor changes were made by promotions on the Council of Policy.

In this year it is recorded that—

The garrison . . . . .	numbered	80 men.
The sick . . . . .	"	15
European women and children . . . . .	"	20
Company's slaves . . . . .	"	98
Free inhabitants . . . . .	"	51
Slaves of private people . . . . .	"	89
Convicts . . . . .	"	7
Total . . . . .		<u>360</u>

The export of the first half-aume of Cape beer as a sample is recorded on Nov. 8, 1658.

- 1659 When the Kaapman Hottentots, in the course of their annual migrations, returned to the Cape Peninsula in the early part of 1659, they found large tracts of the ground now occupied by the suburbs of Wynberg and Rondebosch in possession of the free burgher settlers, and the grazing ground for their own herds much restricted. They repeated Harry's remonstrances of preceding seasons, but with no better effect; they then endeavoured to drive away the intruders by a course of systematic plunder, carrying off the free burghers' cattle by night. One morning Dornan had disappeared, leaving his European clothes behind him, and he was soon

heard of at the head of a party of plunderers, choosing for his expeditions rainy nights, when the Europeans had difficulty in using their firelocks.

The harassed farmers drew up a petition to the Commander, asking leave to make reprisals. Van Riebeck assembled them and tried argument, urging the orders of the directors that he should not harm the natives, and the shortcomings of the burghers in neglecting to guard their own property. They declared they were ready to take all risks on themselves; let him either employ the soldiers to defend them or give them leave to defend themselves.

The council was thereupon summoned, and the burgher councillors were specially invited to attend. They recorded the desire of the Europeans to live in peace and friendship with the natives, and the impossibility of doing so as matters then stood. 'If messengers were sent to the Hottentots they would conclude they were masters of the situation, which could not be tolerated. There was ample cause to attack the Kaapmans: this cause would be righteous before God, and such as they could be responsible for; not in hopes of booty in cattle, nor for revenge—that belonged to God alone—but to enable them to live in peace, and that the Company's designs of discovery by means of exploring expeditions should not be frustrated.' They resolved therefore, as the only alternative, to attack the Kaapmans suddenly with a strong force, to capture as many cattle and men as possible, avoiding unnecessary bloodshed, and to hold them prisoners as hostages for those who might escape.

Within an hour after the council broke up news arrived that Simon Janssen, nicknamed 'In 't velt,' had been murdered by a party of Hottentots headed by Dornan, who drove off the cattle he was guarding. A panic followed. All the Beach-rangers in Table Valley fled; the burghers began to remove their families to the fort for safety and to fortify their houses: all was confusion, and the Commandant found it impossible to do anything with the burghers as a militia. The council resolved to release the slaves from their chains and employ



them in the field, and to enrol the unemployed burghers as soldiers, with pay at 10*d.* per diem, in addition to rewards for the heads of marauders. Some soldiers were sent to outlying farms, and ambuscades were planned, but all endeavours to surprise or draw the Hottentots into an engagement failed. A murrain broke out among the cattle and sheep. This the council regarded as a punishment sent by the Almighty for their sins, and they resolved to hold a meeting every Wednesday afternoon for prayer and humiliation. In this extremity also the council bethought them of Harry, and resolved to release him from Robben Island and employ him as guide to the retreats of his countrymen. They decided to offer him great rewards, but placed on record that they had no intention of fulfilling their promises. So a boat was sent for Harry, with a suit of clothes and a friendly message from the Commander.

Whilst the boat was away Oedaso, chief of the Cochoquas, having heard that the Europeans were at war with his enemies, had moved towards the fort, and was reported to be now encamped on the opposite shore of the bay with many thousand followers. He sent messengers to offer a close and firm alliance, to which the council at once assented. Eva and thirteen Europeans were sent with a present, and instructions to discuss proceedings against the common enemy, and when the boat returned from Robben Island with Harry orders were at once given that he should be sent back to the island without landing.

Many interviews with Oedaso and his council of 'old and experienced men' are recorded at length. The Dutch only asked for guides to bring them to close quarters with the enemy. But guides Oedaso could not or would not furnish, though he was profuse of promises. Meantime two large Indiamen arrived and landed a hundred and five soldiers, and otherwise reinforced the garrison. A Gorachouqua spy having been captured, Harry was brought again from Robben Island as interpreter, and the spy was compelled by threats of death to lead a party to the Kaapmans' camp. A night march and

surprise of the enemy were arranged; large rewards were promised for prisoners and for enemies killed, and a special reward was offered for Dornan's apprehension; but the expedition failed, since, as Harry pointed out, that the enemy were always forewarned by the scouts they had posted on every hill.

Shortly afterwards the fiscal Gabhema, with three horsemen, almost by accident encountered five Hottentots, of whom three were killed and two wounded. One of the latter was Dornan, who escaped; the other was captured. A fortnight later Corporal Giers with a patrol came across a camp of Beachrangers, of whom they killed three and wounded many. The Beachrangers then begged for peace, and were allowed to return to their old location in Table Valley. The Kaapmans and Gorachouquas removed from the neighbourhood, and for some time nothing was heard of them. Harry and the captured spy were sent back to Robben Island, whence they escaped one night to Saldanha Bay in an old and leaky boat of which they managed to get possession.

The council then considered schemes for future defence. Van Riebeck recommended a plan of a thick hedge beyond the cultivated grounds, such as he had seen in the Carribee Islands. This was adopted, and three watch houses were built—Keert de Koe (turn the cow), Houdt den Bul (hold the bull), and Kiek Uit (look out). Horse patrols, assisted by powerful dogs, were also arranged along the line.

Later in the year the surgeon of the fort, William Robertson, of Dundee, discovered a plot to seize the 'Erasmus,' a richly-laden vessel in the bay. The mutineers were arrested and confessed their plot, which was at first to desert and march overland to Angola, but they had afterwards determined to seize the vessel. Of the twenty-nine conspirators fifteen were slaves, and among the remainder were British subjects from Dundee, Glasgow, and Hampstead. The ringleaders were sent to Batavia, and the others heavily punished. The council resolved to send all English and Scotch—Doctor Robertson excepted—to Batavia, 'so as to rid the place of rubbish.'

1660 Early in 1660, as the season for the return of the Cape clans with their cattle came round, much anxiety was felt lest they should renew hostilities. The captured spy had stated very clearly, before he died, the cause of their enmity. He explained at great length how the cultivation of land by Europeans interfered with the grazing of the Hottentot cattle. The Hottentots asked, Would they be allowed to enter Holland and do as the Dutch had done to them? The Dutch objected to the joint use of pasture. 'Have we then,' the Hottentots asked, 'no cause to prevent you from purchasing cattle? Who ought to give way, the natural owner or the foreign invader?' Van Riebeck and his council, as well as the higher authorities at Batavia, deliberated over and acknowledged the grievance; but how could it be redressed? Was the right of the nomad Hottentot to the soil so strong that Europeans ought not to occupy any portion of it? Was the European justified in planting his outposts in such positions as the Cape? There could be, the Netherlands thought, but one answer, though they admitted at the same time that it was natural for the natives to resist the intrusion.

The Kaapmans at length made overtures of peace, at the instance of Harry and Dornan. They sent a message from Saldanha Bay by the coast traders, asking for a written safe-conduct, signed by the Commander, the seconde, and the fiscal, and this being granted Harry and Dornan presented themselves before the Commander and settled the preliminaries. On April 6th the 'Fat Captain' (Gogoso) and forty leading men of his clan joined them, and concluded a treaty. The Kaapmans were to endeavour to induce the inland clans to bring cattle for sale, to make up for those stolen. Europeans were to retain their lands, marking out roads for Kaapmans visiting the fort. Europeans wronging the natives were to be severely punished.

The discussions were long, and were only ended by Van Riebeck plainly declaring that the land occupied would be held by the sword. To numerous complaints of ill-treatment by burghers he replied that such cases thereafter reported to

the Dutch authorities should receive ample redress. To requests that natives should be allowed to come within the boundaries of the settlement, to gather edible roots and bitter almonds, he rejoined that this could not be allowed, as bitter almonds were needed for the hedge which was to enclose the settlement.

Subsequently the Gorachouquas applied for and were admitted to terms. They tried to reopen the discussion about the ownership of land on the Liesbeck, but the Commander cut them short and forbade a re-discussion of the subject. A great feast of rice and bread, with a tubful of arrack and brandy, and a grand native dance, till of all the men present only three or four could keep their feet, celebrated the conclusion of peace, and Van Riebeck was able to say he was at peace with all the people of Africa.

On May 18th, in a heavy north-westerly gale, the French ship 'Marichal,' Captain Verron, from Nantes to Madagascar, went ashore near Salt River, and after two nights of extreme peril the crew and passengers were safely landed. A place was assigned them to erect tents and store the cargo which was saved. The crew were restricted within assigned limits. All munitions of war, except the arms of the six officers highest in rank, were required to be given up into the charge of the Dutch commander. Meetings for the celebration of worship according to the rites of the Romish Church were forbidden, and Van Riebeck issued a proclamation prohibiting all religious ceremonies in the settlement save those of the Reformed Church of Holland. This prohibition remained in force for 120 years.

As Captain Verron and forty-four of his crew were Huguenots, this last rule was not distasteful to them. Thirty-five of them entered the Company's service at the Cape, and the rest when they reached Batavia. Among the passengers were Lieutenant Pierre Galton, governor of a French factory in Madagascar; a Bishop Estienne, and three minor ecclesiastics, who remained for nearly a year vainly hoping to get on to Madagascar. The Bishop was a man of great wealth

and good family, who had suddenly exchanged a life of profligacy for one of fervent piety. He had devoted himself to the establishment of missions in Madagascar ; this was the third time he had been thwarted in his endeavours to reach the island, and he informed Van Riebeck that, failing a ship sent out by the owners of factories, he would charter one at his own cost.

Much is recorded about this time of the misdeeds of Herman Ramajeune, first of the free settlers, who long carried on a clandestine cattle trade with natives, even during the war and under the very eye of Van Riebeck. He had no accomplices except natives, and being at length detected was fined and the cattle illegally bought were confiscated to the Company. Long descriptions are given of the formalities with which the cattle barter was at this time conducted. When a native party approached, they sent on a couple of messengers to inform the Commander of the number of cattle on their way. At the gate close to the watch house Keert de Koe a horseman met them and escorted them to the fort. If the leader were Oedasoia himself, the chief of a tribe of 17,000 or 18,000 Cochoquas, he would be mounted on an ox, and by his side would ride his favourite daughter and constant attendant Namies ; a third ox carried their mats and baggage, and forty or fifty men drove the cattle for sale. Chiefs were received in the Commander's own quarters, where mats were spread for them. Eva would interpret for Oedasoia, and Dornan or Harry for other chiefs. After interchange of compliments a repast of bread, rice, cheese, sugar, and wine was served in tin dishes, such as, the guests were informed, only persons of rank in Holland used. Sometimes music from the virginals was part of the entertainment, and on Sundays the military and burghers were paraded after Divine service and salutes were fired ; next day the cattle barter took place and another entertainment followed.

Van Riebeck notes many pleasing traits in the behaviour of the Hottentots on these occasions. Presents made to one were divided among all the party, and touching anecdotes are

related of their domestic affection, especially of the mutual attachment of the chief Oedaso and his daughter Namies. Van Riebeck wished to tame zebras and break them in as horses, and Oedaso was trying to catch some young ones for the Commander when a lion sprang on him and seized him by the arm; his followers rescued him and killed the lion with their assegais. Namies nursed her father and watched him day and night till he recovered, and when she was ill her father never left her even to attend the Commander's most pressing invitation. Van Riebeck seems to have had difficulty in reconciling such proofs of strong family affection with other anecdotes; as, for instance, with the history of Namies' mother, elder sister of Eva. When a girl she had been carried off by one hostile tribe and captured by another, whose chief (Oedaso) made the captive his wife, evincing a laxity in forming alliances which it puzzled the Commander to reconcile with the strength of the domestic ties thus formed.

In this year the directors endeavoured to find another place of refreshment in the Atlantic, which might be available when vessels could not make the Cape. By order of the Protector Cromwell the English had occupied St. Helena, and the directors ordered search to be made for the island of St. Helena Nova, a beautiful and fertile island which was said to exist between St. Helena and the African coast. It had long had a place on all charts, when Zodewyk Claessen, of Delft, master ship's carpenter at Batavia, informed the Governor-General and Council of India that, whilst for four years a prisoner in the hands of the Portuguese, he had in 1652 been twice on St. Helena Nova, an island with a good harbour and abounding with fruit, vegetables, and cattle. The Portuguese, he said, had two fortresses on the island and were building a third. He excused himself from fixing its position by his ignorance of navigation, but the Portuguese told him it was half a degree south of old St. Helena.

Acting on this respectable testimony, the directors repeatedly ordered expeditions to search for St. Helena Nova to be

sent from the Cape. The homeward-bound fleets sailed in line, with ships a fair offing apart; but failing to find any trace of St. Helena Nova, it was ultimately omitted from the charts.

Similar attempts were made, with equal want of success, to reach the civilised empire of Monomotassa, the country of the Chobona. Van Riebeck collected and recorded all the information he could find, printed or oral, and placed Davagul, the treasure city of the emperor, situated on the river Spirito Sancto, 828 miles north-east from the Cape and 322 miles westward and inland from the Indian Ocean—about the position of Pretoria. The city of Cortado, on the Rio Infante, was, he believed, in the same direction, but nearer.

In Blaes's map in the 'Grooten Atlas' of 1665 the Rio de Infante is shown as the southern and western boundary of the Terra de Natal, and the Rio de Spirito Sancto as falling into Delagoa Bay close to the Rio de S. Lorenzo Marquis. Recent explorations in the Transvaal gold fields, near Pilgrim's Rest, have brought to light ancient workings of gold miners, very regularly and scientifically laid out, and on a very extensive scale, which have been evidently abandoned for ages, as a forest of large timber trees has overgrown them. It is not improbable that the traditions of these workings, and of the people they enriched, were the foundations of the story of the rich and civilised empire of Monomotassa.

Van Riebeck's idea of exploration towards Monomotassa was, in the first instance, to make friends with the Namaquas, who he believed to be a great and powerful nation, and to reach the city of Vigiti Magna, on a great river flowing northwards, in which he still believed. His first expedition consisted of thirteen volunteers, with Dornan, who was now on his good behaviour, as interpreter. Among the members were George Frederick Wreede, a German of good education, now a petty officer in the Company's service, and Pieter Meerhof, a Dane, promoted from the ranks for his skill in dressing wounds and ranking as under-surgeon. They left the fort on November 12th, with three pack oxen to carry bread and with



ammunition to obtain meat by using their muskets. They returned on January 20th, 1661.

1661

They had travelled northward between the Atlantic and the great barrier range of the western coast, had met several small parties of Bushmen, some of whom fled, whilst with others they had friendly communication. They had passed what they described as the 'veritable kingdom of the moles,' where travelling was difficult, as they sank at every step. They had discovered a large river flowing towards the Atlantic, which they named Oliphant's River, from a herd of two or three hundred elephants which they saw feeding on its banks, and had seen the smoke of what the Bushmen told them were Namaqua fires, but were obliged to return from fatigue and from their provisions being exhausted.

Another expedition of thirteen Europeans and two Hottentots was immediately started under Corporal Cruythof, Meerhof going with them as journalist and second in command. They followed the same course as the last expedition, and named a prominent mountain which was one of their landmarks Riebeck's Casteel. Beyond the Oliphant's River they met some Namaqua hunters, and having established friendly relations with them, were guided to a kraal of 73 huts, ranged in a circle with a few scattered outside, and containing some 300 men and 400 women and children, about 4,000 head of cattle and 3,000 sheep. This was an outpost of the Namaqua chief Akembie, moving as they found pasture. They welcomed the Europeans, presented them with a calf and a sheep, and conducted them to the chief's hut, where they were regaled with milk. In the evening a dance was held in their honour: one or two hundred men stood in a circle, each with a long hollow reed of various thickness, which he blew at a signal from a man in the centre, whilst the women danced in a circle round them.

Meerhof describes the Namaquas as larger in person than the Hottentots, and better dressed in handsome karosses of skins of wild animals; they attached copper ornaments to the tufts of their long hair, and wore ivory and copper rings on

their arms; they could smelt and work copper and iron for themselves. Their hemispherical huts of wicker and mats were easily movable; their chief article of food was milk, which they kept in calabashes and vessels hollowed out of wood. Their warriors carried large shields of double ox-hide, assegais, clubs, and bows and arrows. Though much richer and less barbarous than the Hottentots, they were far from being the civilised people Van Riebeck had been led to believe. Still they were useful allies, and their acquaintance formed a step towards the realisation of the Commander's plans for reaching Monomotassa. Among the presents which the Namaquas most valued was a red nightcap, and amongst those with which their visitors returned to the fort on March 10th was a goat, the first seen at the Cape. The Namaquas were at feud with Oedasoa and his Cochoquas, in consequence of some cattle-lifting disputes, but it was not a very serious difference, and Akembie informed the Dutchmen that he would willingly make peace. Van Riebeck was glad to be the mediator, and determined to visit Oedasoa. He told the chief that the Netherlanders were friends of all people who would live in peace and trade in friendship, and he therefore urged his good friend and ally to make use of the Netherlanders' good offices and to make peace with the Namaquas. Oedasoa replied that he knew the Commander wished all people to live at peace, but he was not so good himself. He had more men than the Namaquas and their allies, and would make them feel his strength. Ultimately, however, Van Riebeck's pacific counsels prevailed, and Oedasoa appointed three delegates to accompany the mission which Van Riebeck sent. This expedition penetrated some days' journey beyond the Oliphant's River, into a very barren and desolate region, and returned on April 23rd, having successfully accomplished the object of their mission.

There were as yet no missionaries at the Cape, but the sick comforter, Pieter van der Stael, the Commander's brother-in-law, is recorded as having been 'very zealous in teaching to Hottentots and slaves the Dutch language and

the principles of Christianity.' The directors, to testify their approval of his exertions, raised his salary to 3*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* a month. 'The Dominie,' as he was called, had a native flock of fifty souls. Some people, it seems, even then held that the system on which Eva had been taught was preferable. She had been trained to habits of civilisation in the Commander's household for several years before she was baptised.

On November 14th another expedition was started to carry presents to Akembie the Namaqua chief, and to improve Van Riebeck's relations with his new ally. The mission consisted of three volunteers under Sergeant Everaert as leader, with Meerhof as second in command and Cornelis de Cretzer as journalist. In the list of outfit tea and coffee do not as yet appear, but provision was made for rations of arrack or brandy, and large quantities of spice, cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon. They did not return till February 13th, 1662, having suffered <sup>1662</sup> greatly from want of water in the arid country north of the Oliphant's River. They found the Namaquas had migrated to the far north, and met no inhabitants but Bushmen, and the only noteworthy incident recorded is the trampling to death of one of the volunteers by an elephant.

In the domestic affairs of the colony little of interest is at this time recorded. The burgher councillor Cornelissen had suffered heavy losses from the desertion of his slaves, the Hottentot disturbances, and mishaps in the timber trade. These troubles had led to habits of intemperance, and when the court of justice of which he was a member met one Saturday afternoon at two o'clock he was found in a tavern unfit for business. The Court of Policy thereupon removed him from office, and from a double nomination by the freemen selected Hendrik Boom in his stead.

The game laws were at the same time relaxed, so as to permit freemen to procure venison for themselves, but not for sale. It is noted that this was done for the public welfare, in consequence of the dissipated and irregular habits of the licensed game providers.

It is also noted that the farmers neglected their work on

their farms, under pretence of coming into the fort with loads of fire wood for sale when ships were in the bay. So the sale of fire wood was restricted to Saturday afternoons or Sunday mornings before nine o'clock, and an official was deputed to visit the farms to see that the farmers ploughed their lands diligently.

Early in this year (1662) the old feud between the Cape clans and Oedasoa and his Cochoquas was revived, and the former came close to the settlement, imploring the Commander's protection. Van Riebeck visited them, and beyond Wynberg found 104 large huts and fully 2,000 Hottentots, with whom he tried to make a bargain for a fixed tribute of cattle in return for protection.

The old Hottentot sages were assembled, but declared the terms to be too onerous, and Van Riebeck left them, telling them that grass was becoming scarce and they must move away. But he records that he had no intention of abandoning them to the mercy of the Cochoquas. Oedasoa was the friend of the Company, but it would not do to let him become too powerful by destroying the clans who at present acted as a buffer between him and the settlement. The Hottentot messengers who came with presents next day were kindly treated, but no promises of protection by force of arms were made.

The Company at this time were preparing to attack the Portuguese at Mozambique, and orders arrived to detain 250 soldiers from the homeward-bound fleet.

The directors also called Van Riebeck's attention to the discrepancy between the pictures he drew in his reports of the advantages of the settlement and the verbal reports they received from the skippers of their vessels, who abused the place and the provisions they got there, and 'complained of the risks of anchoring in a stormy roadstead where the town burghers, keeping lodging-houses and brandy shops, sold poultry and eggs without having the fear of God before their eyes when making charges.' The directors twitted him with his expectations that the settlement would soon produce all

its own food supply, whereas the Company was obliged to import rice, and they did not see the advantage of a settlement which could not grow its own food.

Van Riebeck had repeatedly asked for promotion, and for an appointment in India as the only means of obtaining it. So at length the directors appointed Mr. Gerrit van Horn as his successor, and instructed him when relieved to proceed to Batavia.

Van Horn embarked on board a first-class Indiaman, but 'home sickness' broke out among the crew. Twenty-five men had died on March 17th, 1661; Van Horn himself died, and the Council of India at Batavia appointed Mr. Zacharias Wagenaar, a merchant in their service, in his stead. Wagenaar embarked as commodore of a part of the return fleet, and arrived on April 28th, 1662, in a very stormy season. One vessel of the fleet was known to have gone down and three others were never heard of. He was warmly welcomed on landing, but did not receive charge of the settlement till May 6th, when the freemen were assembled and the garrison drawn up under arms. The secretary read Wagenaar's commission; the troops presented arms; the seconde, the lieutenant commanding the soldiers, the fiscal, and other officials engaged to support the new Governor, and the free burghers declared their obedience to his authority. Next day Van Riebeck embarked and sailed for Batavia. He had governed the colony for more than ten years, and by desire of the directors left on record a long and valuable document for the use of his successor, containing a statement of the condition of the settlement, instructions for planting, &c., with notes of all the information he had collected about the native tribes and the country generally.

Van Riebeck had been reproved by the directors for the severity of his regulations, but they were always made in what he considered the Company's interest. The free farmers were restricted from selling, except to the Company, what the Company's vessels might need. During his time twenty-five of the Company's vessels on an average annually put into Table

Bay, and seventeen English and six French ships were supplied during the ten years. The town burghers had more liberty to dispose of their produce, and some of them, Van Riebeck reported, 'had become so rich they were never to be seen with the shirt and sleeves rolled up.' Van Riebeck's experience and intelligence made him ever alive to possible improvements in agriculture as well as to extension of commerce. Some of his anticipations, such as his hopes of introducing the olive, have not yet been realised. Others, such as his suggestions for taking ostriches for the sake of their feathers, have only of late years been practically carried out. He anticipated that great profits might be derived from stocking the islands with rabbits. Australian experience may induce the South African farmer to rejoice that on Robben Island, where the experiment was first tried, the rabbits have been kept down by a species of large snake peculiar to the island and harmless to man.

He enumerates in his memorandum all the native tribes then known, and, from what he states, Mr. Theal estimates their numbers as known to Van Riebeck at 45,000 to 50,000 souls, besides Bushmen, of whose numbers no estimates were attempted. Van Riebeck gives the names of many tribes of which he had heard little but the names. Beyond the great river on which Vigi Magna was built were, he believed, the Chobonas, who were well clothed, lived in substantial houses, used gold and jewels, and were a civilised people subject to the Emperor of Monomotassa. He had also been told of amazons, of cannibals with hair reaching the ground, of a race that tamed lions and used them in war, but of their exact place of abode he professed he knew nothing.

The free burghers had each a farm surveyed and mapped, with a formal title-deed. The list recorded by him contains the names of three men whose descendants are still to be met with in the colony—Willen van der Merme, Hans Ras, and Pieter van der Westhizen.

I have dwelt at what may appear disproportionate length on the annals of Van Riebeck's administration, partly in

justice to his memory as the real founder of the European colonies in South Africa, and partly because, in his voluminous journals and despatches, we find recorded the germ alike of almost every improvement since effected and of every difficulty encountered by his successors.

Van Riebeck was a typical specimen of the adventurous spirits who founded the great colonial empires of England and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. By nature bold, enterprising, energetic, and persevering, possessed of much natural good sense and judgment, he had received a sound education according to the usage of his age, and especially in physical science his training as a surgeon had probably opened to him many branches of knowledge rarely cultivated in those days. He had voyaged much to many remote regions, then either recently discovered or lately opened to commerce, always observant, and bent on turning what he learnt to practical account. He was a religiously-minded man, sincerely tenacious of the simple Puritan form of Calvinism, which was the orthodox faith of the Dutch Reformed Church; and his writings show that his religion was not a mere fashionable varnish, but an habitual guide of conduct, and an ever-present support and consolation in difficulty and danger. Modern moralists, reading his candid and outspoken record of his own acts and motives, may cavil at the practical application of his principles to the ordinary business of life in commerce and public administration, especially in matters relating to the treatment of other races, of national enemies, and of offenders against law and order. But his morality was that of his day, not of ours; and we cease to wonder at the rapid growth of Dutch power when we remember that it was by men such as Van Riebeck that the Netherlands Government was habitually served.

'A more dutiful servant,' says the historian Theal, 'no government ever had. The interests of the Honourable Company' were ever his paramount object. It was the generally-received creed of his day that it was not necessary to keep faith with the heathen, with the declared enemies of



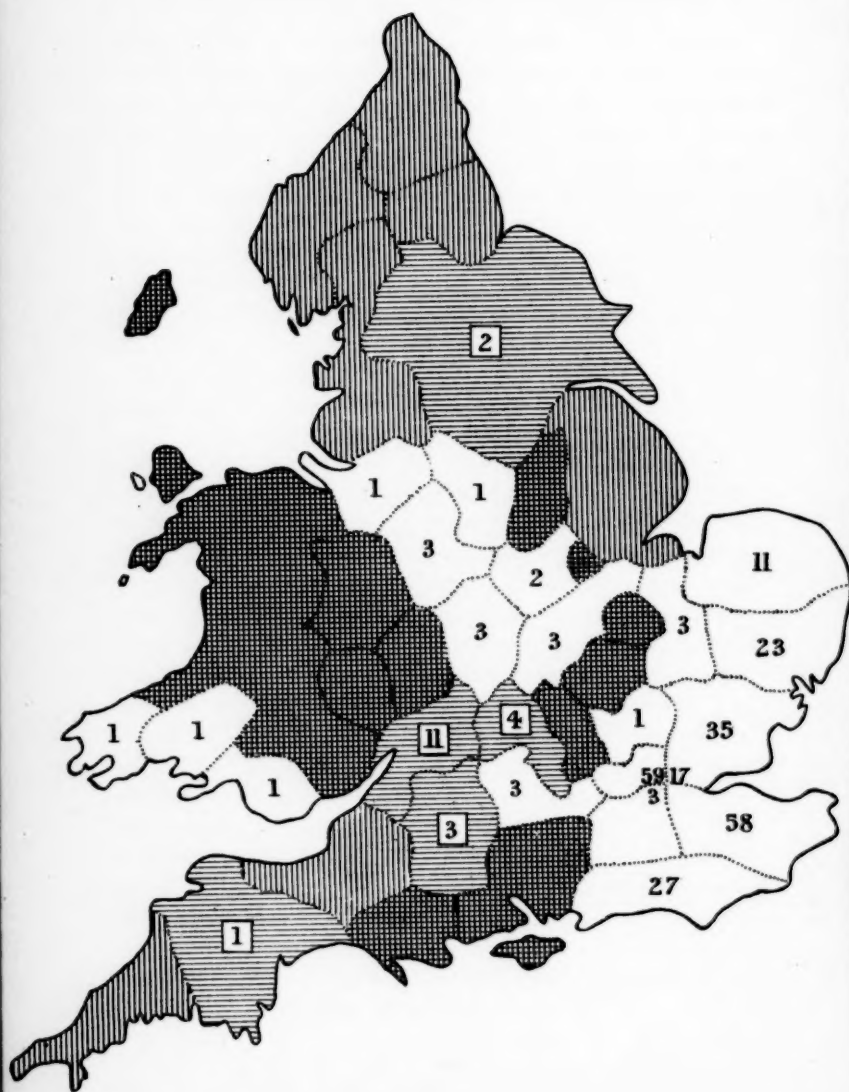
one's country, or with rivals in commerce. Van Riebeck records with the utmost frankness his own acts of what appear to us of very questionable morality in dealing with natives and with European enemies, or rivals of the Netherlands East India Company; but it is noteworthy that neither his directors nor the high commissioners who visited him, nor the Indian authorities in commenting on his reports, appear ever to have felt that they had cause to reprove him for his want of good faith.

In the voluminous journals, despatches, and memoranda which he wrote for the information of his employers we find more or less distinctly shadowed forth almost every important question which has since arisen regarding the native races. Who were the aborigines? what are aboriginal rights in the land? what the limits to native claims of actual occupancy? what their moral and intellectual capacity? The difficulties arising from tribal feuds and European encroachments, from the contest between the law-abiding habits of a civilised European race and the love of independent and unfettered action in the uncivilised savage, between slavery and freedom, between free trade and protection—all these questions had to be faced in the very first years of the infant South African settlement. If we find some of them hard to dispose of in these days, we may receive some consolation from the reflection that they were equally pressing and hard of solution when Van Riebeck landed in Table Bay nearly two and a half centuries ago.

On his arrival at Batavia Van Riebeck was appointed Commandant at Malacca, where he remained till 1665, when he became and continued for many years Secretary to the Council of India. His son, born in the settlement at Table Bay, ultimately rose, as has already been mentioned, to be Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies.

*(To be continued.)*





# NOTES ON THE LOCAL PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

By HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

(Read November 1883.)

I HAVE deliberately called this paper *notes* only upon the wide subject of which it treats. It deals with some evidence; not all evidence available, yet enough, I think, to warrant some conclusions.

Progressive change and growth of opinions, or decay of opinions and their modification, are more powerful factors in bringing about political and social changes than wars or acts of government, but receive less attention than is their due from the difficulty of tracing them clearly.

On a sudden we are aware that some decided change has taken place in the views of the majority of a nation: the original causes of the change may be explicable; but the process by which the change came—whether it spread from the upper classes to the lower, or the reverse, whether it affected one part of the country or another, whether it came through the trading towns or through the universities—is often hard to establish.

In the matter of the great change of public opinion through which the dominant religious feeling in England passed, so as to change from being Catholic in the sixteenth century to become Protestant in the seventeenth century, I hope that I have discovered some indications tending to show that the change was *local* at first, and the progress geo-

graphical. In pointing out these I shall have to speak of martyrs (of two religions). God forbid that I should do it lightly, for they ventured to die for their religion; and in no spirit of disrespect I pass over their sufferings to chronicle their cases as points of evidence. It is scarcely necessary to say that I am not concerned here with the merits of different parties, or with the truth of their opinions; neither have I any wish to trace the course of the acts by which the position of the Church of England and her relation to the State and to the Papacy were altered, under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; but I wish to lay before the Society certain indications (from Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' in the first instance, but from other sources as well) which seem to me to show that England became Protestant in opinion from the *south-eastward*; or, in other words, that Protestantism came into England through the counties that traded with Germany and with Flanders.

No doubt this is what we should have expected. Doctrinal Protestantism cannot be supposed to have grown spontaneously in this country. We produced at that period no doctor capable of originating a system. Abroad Luther had collected the scattered elements of discontent, and roused them to activity; Calvin had organised them, and had made a religion of them. The heretics punished in England are again and again charged with holding the 'foreign opinions.' There was dissatisfaction with the *conduct* of the clergy everywhere; there was possibly an undercurrent of obscure religious opinion drawn from the Lollards of the fourteenth century, which might exist in one part of the country as well as in another; but we may be certain that seafaring and commercial people are always more apt than agricultural people to be heretics—I use the word to mean dissenters from the ordinary national views—in that they mix with foreigners and learn their opinions. As the south-east of England was the seat of commercial activity in the sixteenth century, so there we should expect these heretics to be found. The most important

English trade, by far, was the trade with Flanders.<sup>1</sup> Flanders was full of Calvinistic opinions, and of those of other sects as well; sectarianism existed there before Luther. These opinions passed with the people who held them into London and the seaport towns of Kent, Sussex, and the eastern counties, and made a sensible impression there before penetrating further into the country. Opinion now is ubiquitous. A new thing is heard all over the land at once. Opinion then passed from mouth to mouth, or at best in books given from hand to hand. A slow process when most men spent most of their lives in their native counties. London and Kent might be full of Continental Protestantism, the report of which had scarcely reached Lancashire or Wales.

But this opinion, which we might, as I say, *prima facie* be inclined to adopt, is, I think, borne out by certain definite evidence, and by Foxe in the first place, in his account of the Marian martyrs.

No doubt Foxe is not altogether to be depended on. He takes much on hearsay; he probably sometimes counts one person twice over, and sometimes omits others. But when an examination of his lists shows a striking preponderance of Protestant martyrs in certain parts of the country, I think that we may fairly draw general conclusions from this preponderance, in spite of some possible inaccuracy of details. I have endeavoured to make a list of the martyrs whom he gives as suffering under Mary, classified according to the places in which they suffered. Generally, no doubt, they were natives of those neighbourhoods—it is impossible to determine whence they *all* originally came—but when they were not natives of the place in which they suffered they can often be shown to have lived there, and to have learnt their Protestantism there, and may thus be taken to represent the local opinion. This is specially the case with men who suffered in London. Though *born* elsewhere, they were in *opinion*

<sup>1</sup> English trade with the Netherlands was in 1566, before the war with Spain in the provinces, worth 12,000,000 ducats a year.—*Guicciardini*.

Londoners. In some cases I could have put men to their native counties, but did not, as in most cases it is impossible to do so fairly. George Marsh, *e.g.*, who suffered at Chester, was a Lancashire man, but seems to have learnt his opinions in Cambridge. The one sufferer at St. Albans (the only one in Hertfordshire) seems to have been sent there from London, why I do not know. He was a Yorkshireman by birth, but his opinions were certainly (by Foxe's account) gained in London.

In the following list, therefore, I have arranged the Marian martyrs in what I conceive to be the fairest way, according to the places in which they suffered. From this list I gather that there were many Protestants in part of England under Mary, but probably very few in the rest of the country.

For if we group the martyrs according to counties, we shall find them distributed as follows. There are 277 in all. I take first London and the south-eastern and eastern counties :—

<i>Counties or Places.</i>		<i>Dioceses.</i>	
London and Middlesex	59	London	112
Stratford-le-Bow	17		
Essex (remainder)	35		
Hertfordshire	1		
Southwark	3	Winchester	3
Kent	58	Canterbury	52
		Rochester	6
Sussex	27	Canterbury	4
		Chichester	23
Suffolk	23	Norwich	34
Norfolk	11		
Cambridgeshire	3	Ely	3
	237		237

In the eastern and south-eastern counties, therefore, we have about six-sevenths of the whole number, leaving only forty for the rest of England.

Bristol was the second commercial city in the kingdom, and the centre of a district of some commercial activity, and there we have—



<i>Counties or Places.</i>		<i>Dioceses.</i>	
Brought over	. . . 237	Brought over	. . . 237
Bristol	. . . 6	Bristol	. . . 6
Gloucester (city)	. . . 4	Gloucester	. . . 5
Gloucestershire <sup>1</sup>	. . . 1		
	<u>248</u>		<u>248</u>

—or more than a quarter of the remainder.

In the rest of England they are few and far between, diminishing towards the north and west, as—

<i>Counties or Places.</i>		<i>Dioceses.</i>	
Brought over	. . . 248	Brought over	. . . 248
Exeter	. . . 1	Exeter	. . . 1
Salisbury	. . . 3	Salisbury	. . . 6
Berkshire	. . . 3		
Oxford (the Bishops, <i>not</i> local victims)	. . . 3	Oxford	. . . 4
Banbury	. . . 1		
Northampton	. . . 3	Peterborough	. . . 3
Leicester	. . . 2	Lincoln	. . . 2
Coventry	. . . 3	Coventry and Lichfield	. . . 7
Lichfield	. . . 3		
Derby	. . . 1		
Chester	. . . 1	Chester	. . . 3
Bedale (Yorkshire)	. . . 2		
Cardiff	. . . 1	Llandaff	. . . 1
Haverfordwest	. . . 1	St. David's	. . . 2
Carmarthen (Bishop Ferrar)	. . . 1		
	<u>277</u>		<u>277</u>

While, therefore, as we have seen, nine south-eastern counties and seven south-eastern dioceses furnish six-sevenths of the martyrs, the remaining one-seventh (about) were scattered over no less than fifteen counties and twelve dioceses. None at all are forthcoming from nine dioceses, viz. *York, Carlisle, Durham, Sodor and Man, Worcester, Hereford,*

<sup>1</sup> There is a vague mention of 'a woman,' name unknown, also in Gloucestershire, but it is by no means certain that she is not the same as another woman who died (was not executed) in Gloucester.

*Bath and Wells*,<sup>1</sup> *Bangor*, and *St. Asaph*. Nor are there any from the counties of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Hampshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutland, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland, nor from the Isle of Man, nor from ten of the (then) thirteen Welsh counties. England to the north of the Humber supplied only two martyrs, that tract which lies to the west of long. 2° W. (that is, of the line from St. Alban's Head to Berwick) only eighteen, leaving to the district south of the Humber and east of that line of longitude 257 martyrs, or about 93 per cent. of the whole. There were none from the country parts of Surrey, nor, I think, from the west part of the Weald of Sussex. Of the three who suffered in Surrey at Southwark one was from the coast of Sussex, and complained that he was not condemned by his ordinary, the Bishop of Chichester. The other two were probably Londoners in reality.

Oxfordshire should really be credited with only one, William Dighel at Banbury; for Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, though they suffered at Oxford, do not represent Oxfordshire Protestantism.<sup>2</sup> So Bishop Ferrar may really be removed from the account of Carmarthen, and Bishop Hooper from that of Gloucester. An overwhelming preponderance is left to London and to the manufacturing and trading places of Kent and the eastern counties, increased by six from the great port of Bristol; and it is, I think, to be inferred that hereabouts only were to be found many men whose attachment to the reformed opinions was too strong to allow them to conform to the worship of the Church of England, as law directed, from time to time. Very few above the lower middle classes suffered. Probably the number of

<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence of any one being condemned, much less executed, in *Bath and Wells*. Foxe mentions 'articles exhibited' 'against' a certain heretic in that diocese, and that is all.

<sup>2</sup> Only one even was an Oxford University man, Latimer.

decided *doctrinal* reformers was proportionately less in the upper classes; possibly the Government was afraid to touch the gentry. But when the justices of the peace were enjoined 'to diligently search out heretics,' as they were enjoined by the Queen's Council in 1555, and when such a small return, or absolutely none, appears from so many counties, we may fairly doubt if in those counties there were many heretics to be found. Take Surrey and Hampshire, for instance, in the diocese of Winton. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, has not the name of a careless administrator nor of a merciful man, but *none* suffered in his diocese in his lifetime. Three only suffered under his successor.<sup>1</sup> That successor was John White, first consecrated to Lincoln. He certainly assisted, elsewhere than in the diocese of Winton, at the trial of more than one heretic; his successor at Lincoln, Thomas Watson, also sat as a commissioner to try for heresy Hooper, Ferrar, Rogers, Taylor, and others. Yet these two men, not backward, as we see, or averse from persecution, could only find during their successive episcopates two heretics to put to death in the whole of their diocese of Lincoln, though it was still one of the largest in England, in spite of its division under Henry VIII.

So with many other bishops; Durham, Ely, Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Worcester, St. David's, for instance, sat at times on the trial of heretics; Tunstall of Durham had formerly, as Bishop of London, helped to condemn several under the 'Six Articles;' yet now in their different dioceses we find no executions at all, or at most two or three in each. From the character given by Foxe to the Bishop of Chester, we should have expected much bloodshed from him; but the friends in Manchester, whom Marsh, the Cheshire martyr, addresses, do not seem to have been conspicuous or zealous enough to attract the notice of the persecutors. Mere absence from the pressure undoubtedly exerted at Court in favour of persecution will not sufficiently account for it. I should con-

<sup>1</sup> Omitting the irregular proceedings in Guernsey, which lie outside the enquiry into English opinion.

clude that there was no heresy in these northern and western dioceses, or that what there was was latent and obscure, not the pronounced popular opinion which it had become in London and in Kent and in the eastern counties.

Such are the indications of the local position of Protestantism in the country which we gather from the results of the acts of the reactionary Government. The inference drawn is doubly strengthened if it will follow also from what went on under reforming Governments. And it does so follow. The list of martyrs shows conclusively that there were many Protestants in southern and eastern England, and leads us to infer that there were few in the west and north; the records of rebellions for Catholicism against reforming Governments show conclusively that, on the other hand, in the west and north *there were* many Catholics.

We will take first the six northern counties and Lincolnshire, which show among them only two martyrs under Mary. In 1536 they were all in rebellion for the reform of the Government, but especially for the restoration of the Papal supremacy and for the establishment again of the smaller religious houses suppressed earlier in that year. It was a religious war; the banner of the insurgents bore the five wounds of Christ; the parish priests marched at the head of their parishioners. The Archbishop of York joined them with scarcely a show of compulsion; clergy, nobles, gentry, and commons were united. The feeling of the north was so unanimous that even Henry VIII. had to temporise with them. They were cajoled into dispersing, rather than put down. But the next year, 1537, all the north was again in a ferment, and, when this rising was suppressed, rebels, monks and priests in particular, were hanged in every market town and village from Lincoln to Carlisle.

In 1549 Yorkshire was again stirring against the religious policy of Edward VI.'s Government.

In 1569, after Mary Stuart had taken refuge in England, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were in arms with all the north except Lancashire behind them; and

Lancashire was trembling on the verge of rebellion, waiting for the summons of the Stanleys, who were waiting upon fortune, ready to embrace the winning side. The banner of the wounds of Christ was again displayed. The Earls entered Durham—

‘And in St. Cuthbert’s ancient seat  
Sang mass, and tore the Book of Prayer,  
And trod the Bible beneath their feet.’

In 1570 Leonard Dacres revived the rebellion in the Yorkshire dales, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. The Earl of Sussex wrote honestly to Elizabeth that there were not ten gentlemen in Yorkshire who approved of her religious policy. Mr. Froude has given us, from the Archives of Simancas, the address of the gentlemen of Lincolnshire to Philip II., professing their attachment to him, to Queen Mary, and to the Catholic religion. It is undated, but belongs probably to 1569 or 1570.

To turn, secondly, to the counties of the south-west, where martyrs were few, but not so few as in the north: In 1537 Somersetshire (with no martyrs) was agitated in sympathy with the great Catholic rising in the north. In 1549 Cornwall and Devonshire (with only one martyr between them) were all up in arms against the Protestant Government of Edward VI., and clamouring for the Six Articles and the Mass. They kept the field for several weeks, and were only put down by German and Italian mercenaries. This insurrection overflowed into Somersetshire; and Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire were simultaneously stirred. Lord Grey de Wilton and Sir William Herbert here nipped rebellion in the bud, and rectors and vicars were hanged from their own church towers. The contemporary rebellion in Norfolk (with its eleven martyrs) was not on religious grounds at all. The only rebellion in the south-east was anti-Catholic, that of Sir Thomas Wyatt in Kent against Mary in 1554.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There were riots in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Berkshire, and Hampshire in 1549, but scarcely rebellions. Nor is it certain that they were religious; they were more likely social, like the Norfolk rising.

Kent had subsequently fifty-eight martyrs, and London, with her seventy-nine (in all), now partially supported Kent, five hundred Londoners sent against Wyatt going over to him. It is significant that at this same time the Greys failed to raise an anti-Catholic insurrection in Leicestershire (only two martyrs), Sir Peter Carew failed in Devonshire (only one), Sir James Crofts failed in Wales (only three martyrs). \*

The evidence, then, to which I wish to draw attention here is that of the local distribution of the martyrs and of the Catholic rebellions, compared with each other. Between them they show sufficiently, I think, that Protestantism, not reform of the constitution of Church and State, not the reform of some abuses in the Church, but Protestant *doctrine*, came into England through the counties trading with Germany and Flanders, and was therefore of foreign origin.

The map will show more clearly what I mean.

1. The counties which were the seat of Catholic insurrections, and which had no martyrs under Mary, are shaded perpendicularly.

2. Those which had martyrs under Mary and were *never* the scene of Catholic insurrections are left white.

3. Those which were the scene of both Catholic insurrections and of some few Protestant martyrdoms are shaded horizontally.

4. Those which were the scene of neither are shaded as *sable* in heraldry.

The map is indicative of popular opinion, which in turn explains the action of the Government, ultimately inclining to the policy preferred by the rich and influential counties rather than to that of the poor and remote.

Of course I do not pretend to say that the first-named counties had no Protestants in them, or that the second were all Protestant; but the local arrangement of the partisans of the two religions who dared to suffer and to rebel respectively is at once obvious, and I venture to think striking.

The figure in each county represents the number of Marian martyrs there, according to Foxe.

The number of counties which provided neither martyrs nor rebels, but simply went on obeying the Government and conforming to the Church under all alterations, is considerable and remarkable.

For all intents Yorkshire and Devonshire might be fairly classed as No. 1, or strongly Catholic; and all the Midlands, all Wales, and Surrey might become No. 3, or indifferent; there being only twenty-two martyrs in these thirteen counties—less than two apiece—and the local distribution of opinion would then become still more evident than it is.

The objection may be made here that these south-eastern counties had more martyrs in that there were more people in them, that they were the more thickly inhabited parts of England. If that were the sole explanation, the number of Catholic recusants who suffered under Elizabeth would be greater in these counties also; but this is not the case. In London, it is true, a large number—one hundred and fourteen, I think; in all—did suffer. But London was the centre where Papal emissaries gathered, and where traitors were often brought for execution; and whatever their real crime, most of these recusants suffered *as* traitors. But, generally speaking, we are able to say that the parts of England where the recusants suffered in numbers are precisely the parts where Marian martyrs did *not* suffer. The same conclusion is borne out by both lists. The south and east contained Protestants in some numbers; the north and west contained Romanists, the north especially.

I owe the lists which I now give to the courtesy of J. H. Chapman, Esq. We will observe the number of recusants who suffered after the accession of Elizabeth in different counties compared with the number of Marian martyrs in the same counties, as depicted on the map.

114 perished in London, but after that come  
 51 in the county of York, with its 2 martyrs;  
 16 in Lancashire and Cheshire, with 1 martyr  
 (from Strype's *Whitgift* I learn that 600 recusants were presented  
 at the assizes in Lancashire on one circuit);



10 in Durham, with no martyrs ;  
 9 in Kent, with many martyrs, but  
 8 in Hampshire, with none  
 (where 400 recusants were presented at the sessions on one occasion—*Strype, Whitgift*) ;

7 in Dorsetshire, where there were no martyrs ;

6 in Wales, " " 3 "

5 in Oxford, " " 4 "

In the remaining two northern counties there were—

4 . . . . . against no martyrs ;

8 in four midland counties " 7 "

11 in six western counties " 15 "

4 in two south-eastern counties " 30 "

5 in four eastern counties " 69 "

The distribution in inverse order to that of the Protestant martyrs is not always quite regular, but is generally evident. For instance—

The six northern counties had eighty recusants and two martyrs.

Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, and Sussex had fourteen recusants and 154 martyrs.

Or, to put it in another way (omitting London from both lists), the English counties north of a line drawn from the Wash to Shrewsbury had more than 61 per cent. of the recusants and only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the martyrs.

The counties south of this line had less than 39 per cent. of the recusants and  $96\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the martyrs.<sup>1</sup>

Or—and here again I am indebted to Mr. Chapman's kind aid—let us take the evidence of places whence candidates for ordination as Romanist missionaries were drawn.

About 1569 a college was founded at Douai<sup>2</sup> for the education of young men intended for this service. The first ordinations thence were in 1574 ; and the lists for the first twenty years show results as follows :—

Of men born in the diocese of Chester, which included Lancashire, there were—

<sup>1</sup> *Law's Calendar of English Martyrs.*

<sup>2</sup> Removed for a time to Rheims, but used for the same purpose throughout.

		69 ordained in 20 years.
From York	. . .	58
" Lichfield	. . .	29
" London	. . .	26 only
	(Middlesex and Essex being Protestant generally).	
" Durham and Oxford		17 each
" Lincoln	. . .	15
" Exeter and Wells	. . .	12 each
" Norwich	. . .	11
" Carlisle	. . .	10

and men counted by single figures only from the remaining dioceses.

From the ten dioceses of Carlisle, Durham, York, Chester, Lincoln, Wells, Exeter, Oxford, Gloucester, and Salisbury, dioceses, where rebels had actually risen or tried to rise against reforming Governments, there were 226 men ordained, against 128 men from the other fourteen dioceses.

The Marian martyrs from these ten north-western and south-western dioceses (which furnished two-thirds of the Douai priests) had been only twenty-seven; from the fourteen south-eastern and central dioceses (which furnished one-third of the Douai priests) the Marian martyrs had been 250.<sup>1</sup>

Again, the same counties generally furnished recruits for the Society of Jesus. From lists of English Jesuits down to recent date, but not including living members, it appears that—

342	came from Lancashire by birth ;
181	" Middlesex "
151	" Yorkshire "
80	" Northumberland and Durham by birth ;
64	" Staffordshire by birth ;

and from the other counties in rapidly diminishing numbers.<sup>2</sup>

The same conclusion is indicated by the counties called upon for the levies to resist the Armada, but not so decisively; for there may have been other reasons besides disaffection on

<sup>1</sup> *Douai Register*.

<sup>2</sup> *Foley*, v. 7, p. 971.

the score of religion why Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire, with perhaps Lancashire and Cheshire, were not enrolled at all against an enemy whose landing-place was expected to be the coast somewhere in the south-east or on the Channel. Anyhow, from these counties no soldiers came to fight for Elizabeth in 1588, in that crisis of the reforming Government of England.

There were yet a third set of sufferers for religion in England—those heretics condemned by both the great parties, who disagreed with the Church of England even after the Reformation. Of these ten at least suffered death as heretics under Edward VI., Elizabeth, and James ; five in London, one in Kent, three in Norfolk, one in Staffordshire—a majority still for the south-eastern counties. They were mostly Arians or Anabaptists, some foreigners, others avowedly taught by foreigners.

Passing a detailed examination of these, however, we will go on to the seventeenth century, and to some evidence which tends to show the different feeling of the two parts of the country then also.

It is only one point which I must notice, but one which is, I think, not without weight when taken in connection with what has gone before. In the seventeenth century the pressure of penal laws and the lapse of time under a reforming Government had made most Catholics conform to the worship of the Church of England, but they did not apparently become so decidedly Protestant as the descendants of the people who had willingly embraced Protestantism first of all. For in the civil war of the seventeenth century those counties which had been more Catholic in the sixteenth century had evidently become Anglican, and were Royalist ; those which had been more Protestant had become Puritan, and were Parliamentary—that is, roughly speaking. A complete local severance of these two parties in that war is impossible, but the same general causes were acting as in the previous century. Foreign trade and intercourse kept alive

Protestantism, and introduced the foreign sects in the south-east—sometimes their opinions, and sometimes bodies of foreign Protestants themselves. Where offshoots of these opinions appeared in the west, it was in new or growing centres of trade, as in Somersetshire and North Wiltshire, Bristol and Gloucester, and in South Lancashire, and in the clothing towns in South Yorkshire. The civil war of the seventeenth century was (principally, I believe, but to a great extent at all events) a religious war; and where the Catholics had been strong two or three generations earlier, there the King had friends among their representatives, or among their descendants, who had conformed and become the rank and file of the High or Arminian party in the Church. The King's military strength lay in these counties. But the distribution of the members of the House of Commons between the two sides will help to show this better.

From the counties which I marked perpendicularly, or the strong Catholic counties of the sixteenth century, forty-eight members adhered to the King, forty-nine to the Parliament.

The spread of Puritanism into Lincolnshire, where the members were one for the King and nine for Parliament, alone prevented the King from having a large majority in these counties.

From the *sable*, the indifferent or obedient or conforming counties, sixty-two members adhered to the King, sixty-seven to Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

From the counties which furnished Catholic rebels and Protestant martyrs—the horizontally shaded counties—forty members adhered to the King, sixty-six to Parliament.

The growth of Puritanism in South Yorkshire and North Wiltshire explains the inclination of the balance to the Parliamentary side.

From the *white* counties—the counties of the Marian martyrs—where Protestantism had begun in England, and where foreign intercourse had kept on bringing new sects

<sup>1</sup> N.B. I have counted *all* the Welsh counties in this division.

and new opinions continually to the notice of the people, and where foreigners themselves had settled, there only thirty-eight members adhered to the King, and 124 to Parliament.

The King had with him the majority of members from *Northumberland, Westmoreland, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Herefordshire, Somersetshire, Cornwall, and Wales*; 86 in all, against 46. The members were evenly divided in *Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Monmouthshire*. *Durham* returned no members, but was Royalist. All these counties are Catholic or indifferent in the map, except the three southern Welsh counties, Cheshire, and Staffordshire; and these have only seven martyrs among them, and might be fairly marked as indifferent at least. Indeed, Staffordshire, in spite of its three martyrs, was a notorious stronghold of Catholicism. Looking at the counties where the Marian martyrs rose to double figures—*Gloucestershire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, Kent, Sussex*—we find only 24 members for the King, and 78 for Parliament.

Everywhere probably *esprit de corps*, or love of power, would make members rather more *Parliamentary* than their constituents, but the general agreement with our former conclusions is, I think, remarkable.<sup>1</sup>

These are some facts affording some indication only of the progress and prevalence of opinion; could they be supplemented by others I should be only too glad to see the imperfections of this paper repaired by the production and sifting of full evidence.

<sup>1</sup> The list of members is from Gardiner's *Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.*, checked from other sources.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE OF 1788.<sup>1</sup>

BY OSCAR BROWNING, M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

*(Read Dec. 1883.)*

WILLIAM PITT the younger became prime minister in December 1783, just at the moment when a satisfactory peace had concluded a long and disastrous war. The struggle with the American colonies had left England without allies in Europe. The cause of the revolted patriots had been supported first by France, then by Spain, and lastly by Holland, while the armed neutrality of 1780, originated by Russia perhaps at the instigation of Frederick the Great, had been joined by most of the European powers. This was a direct defiance of the naval supremacy of England, made at a time when the strength of the country was scarcely sufficient to support its claims. When peace was concluded England swept the field of Europe to find an ally.

Russia, governed by Catherine II., a vigorous and enlightened sovereign, was mainly interested in extending her dominions, either to the south at the expense of Turkey, to the north-west at the expense of Sweden, or to the west at the expense of Poland. Catherine found a natural ally in Joseph II. of Austria, a prince who, like herself, penetrated with the ideal views of French philosophers, believed that mankind was to be reformed by edicts, and civilisation hastened by the imperious orders of an absolute will. Besides a desire to depress the influence of the nobility and the

<sup>1</sup> The authorities for this paper are the published despatches of Lord Malmesbury and Lord Auckland, the Leeds papers in the British Museum, and the despatches of Sir James Harris and other ministers preserved in the Record Office

Church, which was shared by many enlightened statesmen of that age, Joseph was anxious to round off the scattered dominions of Austria by exchanging the Netherlands for Bavaria, a project to which he clung with remarkable tenacity. This was undoubtedly a wise and statesmanlike design. Austria had never been able to consolidate her medley of provinces into a well-defined kingdom. Joseph was quite alive to the danger of being driven out of Germany by the growth of Prussia, and succeeding history has justified his prescience. If Bavaria were added to Austria, the Emperor would be left in his German possessions, the danger of a third German power to hold the balance between the two great rivals would be less, and the kingdom of Burgundy would have anticipated the kingdom of Belgium by fifty years. The plan, however good in itself, could not fail to rouse the jealousy of France, who preferred to see the flat plains of the Netherlands lie open to her as a ready prey, and who dreaded the development of commercial activity in Antwerp. The very excellence of the scheme made it hateful to Frederick, that sly and cynical observer of all political movements. To prevent it he called into existence the League of Princes.

Besides this great design wider projects were continually springing up in Joseph's seething brain. Conscious of his own rectitude and of the benefits of his rule, he cared little for other considerations. He showed as reckless a disregard of vested rights, of the sentiment of nationalities or populations, of the accepted public law of Europe, as Frederick had when he invaded Silesia, or as Napoleon was to show when he compensated plundered monarchs by the spoil of monarchs whom he was yet to plunder. A clear-sighted statesman would have seen that Austria and Russia were at this time the main dangers to the peace of Europe. Their common interests drew them together as Napoleon and Alexander were drawn together in the raft on the river Niemen. But it was the common interest of Europe to watch them narrowly and to cross their ambitious plans.



Frederick the Great had insulted Catherine as a woman, and although they had much in common as sovereigns, Catherine never forgot or forgave the insult. The reports of our ambassador at St. Petersburg are full of evidence of her ill-feeling towards him, and tell us how she rejoiced at his death. The diplomacy of Europe had no secrets for Frederick, yet he confined himself to the interests of his country. He was ready to divide Poland with Russia in order to increase his own dominions and to lure Russia from conquest in the East. He had seen through the character of Joseph II. in his first interview with him ; and while he probably foresaw that ultimate failure of the Emperor's plans which Joseph desired might be written on his grave, he did not think it worth while to oppose him actively until the Bavarian exchange appeared imminent.

While such was the condition of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, France was at this time governed by one of the most peaceful and benevolent sovereigns who ever swayed her sceptre, and by a well-meaning and straightforward minister. History will at some time do justice to the qualities of Louis XVI. and to the industrious honesty of Vergennes. It is true that they had been misled into taking the part of America against us, an action fatal in its results to the French monarchy. But they were now sincerely desirous of peace and of the development of French commerce. In fact, the condition of France was desperate. In five years the great Revolution was to burst forth which destroyed constitution, priests, nobles, and king. Little aware of the chasm on which their power was built, the rulers of France still knew that the country required peace, and that material prosperity should be their first care. The French navy had suffered severely during the war, French colonies had been taken by the English and not restored at the peace. An Indian empire, which France regarded with pride and hope as a nucleus of wealth and honour, was destroyed, and the kernel of a British empire planted in its stead. Could a statesman have foreseen what no statesman could then fathom, the utter rottenness of

French government and society, he would have left her to her own devices, feeling sure that she could not endanger the peace of Europe. It might have been wiser perhaps to have assisted her to develop her strength, in order that she might the better cope with those devastating forces which a few years later menaced the civilised world.

It was natural that Louis and Vergennes should attach great importance to the French alliance with Holland. The Dutch had fought by their side against the English; they were close neighbours; they were the second maritime power of Europe; they had the instinct of successful trade, and especially of trade with the East. France and Holland could each give something which the other lacked. United they would present the appearance of a maritime commercial power backed by the prestige of a military nation which had once been great. The other ally of France was Austria, joined to France by treaty for nearly thirty years and now joined by marriage. This alliance, which dates from the beginning of the Seven Years' War, was the masterpiece of Kaunitz. It reconciled powers which the tradition of Europe had regarded as hereditary enemies, to oppose them to Prussia, who had ventured to beard the majesty of the Empire. It was not likely that Kaunitz would, so long as he was minister, consent to the undoing of a work which he regarded as the glory of his life. Nor was it probable that Marie Antoinette, who had great political influence, would allow a rupture with her tenderest associations. Yet the Franco-Austrian alliance was of little use to France; it damaged the Court in the eyes of the people and it did not protect or save it in the hour of danger. It was a drag rather than otherwise on the designs of Joseph. His plans for the exchange of Bavaria, for opening the Scheldt, were directly opposed to French interests, and his restless and unquiet ambition must have been a constant source of anxiety to his peaceful allies. The interests of France and Austria were as naturally opposed to each other as those of Austria and Russia were united. Thus we see

France continually expostulating with the Emperor, employing in turn a more or less decided tone, never sympathetic and often hostile. Joseph was not without suspicion of the internal weakness of France. He cared little for the cumbersome paraphernalia and deep-seated abuses of the *ancien régime*, while the good sense and good government of Englishmen appealed powerfully to his sympathies.

It follows from this review of the condition of Europe in 1784 that, with the exception of Prussia, there was no power which England had less reason to fear than France. If a French and English alliance was outside the range of practical politics, yet a benevolent neutrality was practical and desirable: on the other hand, Austria and Russia were the true disturbers of the peace of Europe. The one thing which kept the ambition of Joseph within bounds was his close connection with France; yet we find that during the first year of Pitt's accession to office the whole of our suspicion is directed against France; not a movement takes place which we do not attribute to her sinister designs. In vain Catherine and Kaunitz assure us that we are mistaken; their denial of French conspiracy only suggests doubts of their own sincerity towards us. Not only this, but it is repeated again and again that the main object of British diplomacy should be to dissolve the unnatural alliance between France and Austria. If time permitted I could multiply instances of this unreasoning suspicion drawn from the Foreign Office papers in the Record Office: one will suffice. On September 7, 1784, Lord Carmarthen writes to Sir R. Murray Keith, ambassador at Vienna, that in his opinion nothing is to be expected from Kaunitz, and that Keith is to seek an interview with Joseph himself. He proceeds: 'Were it possible by any means to obtain the confidence of the Emperor on the general state of European politics, much surely might be done. Some assurances of eventual assistance, communicated with caution and observed with secrecy, might gratify the natural reserve of his character at the same time they flatter his ambition; and let the latter passion be as prevalent in his mind as the most

*bitter of his enemies wishes to represent it, I can scarcely conceive a length to which it would carry him in the pursuit of which it would not be our interest to second his views on condition of effectually rendering the House of Austria what she ought to be, the formidable rival of the House of Bourbon.*' This extraordinary statement from an English minister was written just after Joseph had declared the Scheldt open to navigation in defiance of treaties and to the amazement and indignation of the rest of Europe.

In this juncture of affairs a course of diplomatic action was begun which changed Holland from the attitude of a doubtful friend, or even of an enemy, to a close ally, and which built up the fabric of an alliance between these two maritime powers and Prussia, which for a short time gave the law to Europe and checked the ever-swelling ambition of Austria and Russia just as they seemed to have the objects of their desire within their grasp. As soon as peace was signed between England and Holland it became necessary that ministers should be exchanged between the two Courts. Sir James Harris, afterwards created Lord Malmesbury, was chosen for this post by Fox and the Duke of Portland, and after their dismissal from power the appointment was confirmed by Pitt and Lord Carmarthen. Sir James Harris accepted the post with the full approbation of his former friends. He was a bright, versatile, and witty man; he had served with distinction both in Spain and Russia, and he was to continue in employments which have handed down his name as one of the most brilliant and successful of English diplomatists.

In order to make his course of action clear it will be necessary to give some account of the condition of Holland at this time. The seven provinces formed a union of the loosest kind. The province of Holland had the pre-eminence, and in times of danger the other provinces were ready to concede to her a prerogative vote. But there was nothing in the Dutch constitution to make this necessary, nor did occasion for it often occur. Each State was free to act as it pleased. Confederate governments are only held together by some definite power being reserved for the central authority. In most

cases the care of posts and telegraphs, of carriage, of the higher justice, and of peace and war, is surrendered by the subordinate States. In Holland no constitution of this kind existed. It was possible for the separate States to enter into alliances entirely independent of the rest. Liberty and diversity of action were valued before unity and efficiency. The States were generally under a government of an aristocracy of merchants; the main object of their rulers was to preserve their own power and to make as much money as possible by trade. They found that an alliance with France served both these purposes; France supported them against the English, who were their great rivals in commerce, aided their pretensions to Eastern trade, and by judicious influence kept the provinces back from too close a union. The party who wished for the maintenance of this loose confederacy and of the French alliance called themselves the Patriots, as being depositories of the best traditions of Dutch freedom. Opposed to these was the party of the Stadtholder, a name once given to the viceroy of the King of Spain, and since the revolution to an officer chosen by each separate province and invested with the command of the army and the fleet. Since the days of William the Silent the Stadtholderate had been hereditary in the House of Orange, although for long periods the office had been altogether suspended. The Patriots were strongest in the province of Holland, and especially in the town of Amsterdam. The party of the Prince, as it was called, rested on the attachment of the nobles, the common people, and the provinces of Zeeland and Guelderland. As the Patriots were devoted to France, so were the Prince's party to England. But at this time the English party was weak and of no reputation. William V. of Orange was a man of feeble character, not likely to regain what he had lost nor to keep what he had gained. But his high-spirited wife made up for his deficiencies. Frederica Wilhelmina of Prussia, niece of Frederick the Great, had a stout heart to defend the interests of her family and blue pleading eyes which Harris sometimes confessed to be dangerous.

When Harris arrived in Holland the affairs of the country were in a serious crisis. The Emperor Joseph had, as we have seen, determined to open the river Scheldt to commerce, a course to which the Dutch were strongly opposed. He had also demanded the cession of the town of Maestricht, to which he imagined that he had some claim. Harris tells Carmarthen in his first despatch (December 7, 1784) that France is determining to support the country against the Emperor's claims—had offered one of her best generals and had given leave to raise troops in France. Besides verbal orders, Harris had received two other papers for his guidance, one a memorandum dated in October, the other formal instructions dated November 21. In the first of these he was told what attitude he was to adopt towards the different parties in the Republic. To the Patriots he was to give general assurances of friendship and goodwill from England, but lament their present attitude towards this country. The more moderate men among the Republicans he was to warn that French influence would be fatal to their constitution and liberties, and that their Republic would become little better than a province in the hands of France. The real friends of England, and those entitled to our confidence, he was to recommend to cultivate friendship with the King of Prussia, who ought, in conjunction with England, to be the ally of the United Provinces. They were to be pressed also to co-operate with England in destroying the alliance between France and Austria. In his regular instructions Sir James Harris was ordered to assure the Prince of Orange of our esteem, to find out who are friends to England, to urge the country to return to its ancient connection with us, to notice any treaty with the Court of France, to see what assistance Holland is likely to receive from France or Prussia in her dispute with the Emperor. To these were added two secret instructions. Our ambassador was to discover if there were any who, while supporting the person or the office of the Stadtholder, were still anxious for the French alliance, and to sound well-

disposed persons as to the chance of surmounting the present strength of the Patriot party. In no case was the name or authority of the King of England to be placed in jeopardy.

Harris arrived at the Hague December 6, 1784. His first impressions are very dismal. He says in a private letter, preserved in the British Museum, that there is no chance of doing any good, or any occasion for doing more harm than they are doing themselves. His mission, therefore, will be one of little action. The Prince of Orange told him that his happy days were over, and that he looked forward to nothing for himself and his children except misery and disgrace. He finds that the English party is composed of a set of men dejected, oppressed, and divided amongst themselves. Something might be done with a good leader, but the Prince of Orange was unfit for the post. The Princess might do something by inducing the Emperor to restore the power of the Stadtholder at the price of opening the Scheldt. If this cannot be done it is better that Holland should sink into a state of entire insignificance. In the meantime the Emperor pressed his claims with vigour. Two Austrian ships were ordered to proceed down the Scheldt and to reply if they were fired upon. Joseph demanded a large compensation from the Dutch for the relinquishment of his supposed rights to the town of Maestricht. This produced a schism between the views of France and Prussia. While the French Court urged the Dutch to submit to the Emperor's claims, perhaps from desire to avoid a war, Prussia urged them to resist. Frederick was still more eager to withstand the ambition of Joseph from the news of the contemplated Bavarian exchange, which now became public. These events assisted the views of England in Holland. The peasants, called upon by the Patriots to fight against the Emperor, decked themselves with Orange colours and declared for the Stadtholder. Had the Prince of Orange been less sluggish, the crisis might have been turned to greater advantage. Harris certainly loses no opportunity of effecting his object. He urges Ewart, our representative at Berlin, to take action with the King of Prussia through



Herzberg or Görz, on the ground that, as the ministers at home are engrossed with the House of Commons, any good that is ever done on the Continent must be effected by the King's ministers abroad and not by those about his person. He proposes an alliance between England, Prussia, and Holland to check that between France, Austria, and Russia. Frederick suggests in answer that England should in the electorate of Hanover join the Fürstenbund, a suggestion which was readily adopted.

During the spring and summer of 1785 Harris was in England, and was able to communicate with the ministers in person. He found them evidently friendly to an alliance with Prussia, but Frederick was too old and cautious to accept the offer. During his absence the French carried on a mediation between the Dutch and the Emperor, which eventually resulted in their paying the Emperor a large sum of money, which the French in great part contributed as a loan. Harris used all the arts of obstruction which the Dutch constitution admitted of to prevent a *rapprochement* between France and Holland, but in vain. Harris, on returning to the Hague, found the Prince of Orange absent. He saw a great deal of the Princess, and urged her to use all her influence with her uncle, the King of Prussia; but she could get nothing out of him, and on September 15 the Prince and Princess of Orange left the Hague, the Princess for Friesland, the Prince for Breda. The night before their departure Harris had a long and affecting interview with the Princess. She felt that she was leaving the Hague never to return; in a few days the Prince would be deprived of every remnant of authority. She scarcely regretted the altered prospects of her children; they were too young to know ambition, and would, she trusted, be happier in a private station. M. de Maillebois, the French general, had suggested that she should give up the Prince and be Stadtholder in his place. This, which her uncle Frederick would have approved of, she rejected with disdain, and declared that she would never desert her husband. 'I may,' she said, 'wish at times that the Prince possessed many qualities which

he has not, and that he could be divested of several he has ; but these feelings I conceal in my own heart, and they neither have nor ever shall influence my conduct. I am bound to share his fate, let it be what it may, and I trust in God to be enabled to meet it with firmness and resignation.' The Princess arrived in Friesland the following day, and landed amidst the acclamations of the people, who crowded on the shore to receive her.

There were at this time two parties in the English Cabinet, one in favour of a spirited foreign policy, the other of peace and retrenchment. Whilst Carmarthen was engaged in the useless attempt to detach Austria from France, Pitt was giving the strength of his mind to the improvement of our finances. He writes to Harris in October 1785 : ' The general state of our revenue is improving daily. We are, I believe, already in possession of a million surplus beyond all our probable annual expenses, and shall, if the same course of prosperity continues, find ourselves very different in the eyes of Europe from what we have been for some time.' The end of 1785 was marked by the signature of the treaty of alliance between Holland and France. England protested against it, but was not prepared to go to war without the active support of Prussia. During the first months of 1786 France was gaining influence in the States, and the Stadtholder was subject to renewed insults and attacks. Zealand remained true to England. By the mouth of her pensionary Vanderspiegel she offered to detach herself from the rest of the confederation and join England, if England would accept the offer ; but that, of course, could not be done without the risk of war. The Cabinet went so far as to promise the Prince of Orange material support if he would place himself at the head of his party. Vanderspiegel was to give his best assistance on his side. A strong memorial was presented to the States-General, informing them that England was anxious for the maintenance of the ancient constitution of Holland and that she was aware of the overbearing ambition of France. Just as events were in the highest condition of tension they received

a new turn by the death of Frederick the Great. Lord Dalrymple writes from Berlin that on August 15 he fell into a kind of lethargy, from which he woke the next day and was able to dictate to his secretaries. The same torpor came on again, but at night he was able to speak distinctly. At midnight he was given over, and early in the morning of the 17th the closed gates of the palace announced that the King was dead.

The new King was of very different character. Lord Dalrymple describes him as being a very poor specimen of a king—tall, but undignified and ungraceful; honest, courageous, and sensible, but not refined or elevated in his ideas. His morality was far from good, and he was seriously in debt. At the same time he was well disposed towards England, and wished his daughter to marry the Prince of Wales. Prince Henri, on the other hand, Frederick's brother, was in favour of a French alliance. The first step of the new King was to send Count Görz to the Hague. He avowed to Harris his master's strong desire for an alliance with England, but this had no effect on the conduct of the States of Holland. They favoured the development of free corps throughout the country—an armed mob, as Harris calls them—and the Prince, feeling his life insecure, by the advice of Harris, surrounds himself with a guard. In September the States of Holland suspend the Stadtholder from his functions and rescind the Act of 1766, which gave him the power of military nominations. The Patriots held a meeting at the French ambassador's, where they discussed the propriety of declaring the Stadtholder an enemy of the Republic, depriving him of his office and declaring it no longer hereditary in his family. To add to the distress of Harris, England refused to accept Count Görz's proposal of a joint intervention; and the King of Prussia, finding action in favour of his sister harder than he had expected, recalled his ambassador and rebuked him for exceeding his instructions. Harris was reduced to a condition of despair. However erroneous were his ideas about the danger of French ambition, he must deserve credit for the instinct which convinced him that a most important battle

was being fought out in Holland, that the subjection of that country to France would isolate England in Europe and be a constant menace to our trade, whereas by alliance with Holland we could best hope to establish ourselves in Europe and form useful and permanent connections with other powers. As a last resource he wrote to Pitt himself, who had just concluded a commercial treaty with France. Pitt naturally dreaded anything which would plunge England into a war, and shrank from expenditure on objects which were not calculated to increase or develop the material resources of the country. Harris, in his letter to Pitt of November 28, gives a retrospect of his mission, points out the danger of the political direction of Holland belonging to the French, and asks that such measures may be taken that the friends which he has succeeded in gaining for England may not be abandoned by him. Pitt replies with great caution, but in language which was more satisfactory than Harris or Carmarthen expected. The latter says, in exultation, 'Now we have raised his attention to the important object-in question, we must by all means endeavour to keep it up and not suffer Holland to be sacrificed either to lawn or cambric.' After another correspondence Harris was requested to state his views for information of the Cabinet, and did so in a full despatch. He showed that the republic might still be saved if England would provide funds. Months pass, and no step is taken. On May 1, 1787, he writes a more serious remonstrance. He details the efforts he has made to create an English and Stadtholderian party since his arrival in the country. He points out emphatically that foreign assistance is necessary, and that some great power must be found who may not only think it worth while to afford pecuniary supplies, but who may consider themselves as sufficiently interested in preserving the republic from becoming a French province to declare that if France should invade it the step will not be regarded with indifference. England is the only power that can take this position. May he come to London to confer with the Cabinet in person? His orders of recall

were despatched on May 8, and on the same day he informs his Government that the French are forming a camp of 30,000 men at Givet, and are preparing to interfere in force.

We have a full record of a Cabinet dinner at which Harris was present, held at Lord Chancellor Thurlow's on May 23. The Chancellor, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Stafford were in favour of intervention. Pitt was more cautious; if we did anything we must be ready for war. Harris urged that France did not desire to fight *for* Holland, but *with* Holland against England; that she had neither an army, revenue, nor ministry; and that England would never find a more favourable moment for taking a high and becoming line. Pitt in reply lamented any interruption to the growth of affluence and prosperity in the country, and asked whether this was not increasing so fast as not to make her equal to resist any force France could collect for some years hence. The next day Pitt went minutely into the whole matter with Harris, and on the 25th a Cabinet minute was presented to the King advising pecuniary assistance to the Stadtholder to the amount of 20,000*l.*, advanced as loan or otherwise.

On the evening of the day following Harris's return to the Hague he met five of the Stadtholder's friends in a private room in the Old Palace. Each of them came by a different route, muffled up in his cloak. Sir James told them the result of his journey to England. He said (1) that the King of England granted the pecuniary assistance asked for, (2) that in case of an invasion from France England must be left to act for herself without giving a direct promise, but (3) if it were necessary for them to seek an asylum one would always be given them in England. A plan of action was agreed upon and M. Nagel communicated what had passed to the Court of the Prince at Nimuegen. Nagel returned, saying that the plan of action was adopted by the Prince and Princess, and that the Prince would put himself at the head of Van der Hop's army at Amersfort. This army was soon joined by English officers who volunteered for service, and every day grew in numbers. An event now occurred which

changed the whole situation of affairs. The Princess of Orange suddenly left Nimuegen and went to the camp at Amersfort. Soon after her arrival, on June 23, she sent a messenger to inform her friends who had met with such secrecy in the Old Palace that she was determined to come herself to the Hague and to place herself at the head of the Stadtholder's party. The Prince had given his consent and letters to the States-General and the States of Holland empowering her to act and negotiate as circumstances might demand. 'She asked for our advice,' Harris says, 'and we could not refuse our consent, but warned her of the danger she might incur.' On June 25 an express arrived, ordering a room to be prepared for her in the Palace on the 28th. However on the evening of that day she was stopped in the neighbourhood of Gouda by some free corps and carried under a strong guard to Schonhoven. She wrote an indignant letter to protest against her detention, and there was great danger of an outbreak at the Hague. The streets were patrolled by horse and foot soldiers, who dispersed the people. The States of Holland passed a resolution approving of her capture. On the morning of June 30 she was released and returned to Nimuegen. I cannot find whether Harris suggested this bold step or not, but it is difficult to believe that she would have acted without his advice, and we may, I think, regard this new departure as part of the *plan of action* suggested by her partisans.

The Princess wrote to her brother urging him to avenge the insult offered to her. He prepared immediately to march troops into Holland. I have no space to relate the efforts now made by the English Cabinet to prevent French interference, although I have examined the papers which have reference to it. No doubt France was pledged by treaty to support Holland in case of attack, and could not back out of her engagement without dishonour. But Montmorin, who had succeeded Vergennes, was not only sincerely desirous of peace but could not afford to go to war. There exists in the Record Office a despatch dated July 27, 1787,

which, from the erasures and the sentences contributed in autograph by the different ministers, shows the care with which it was drafted. We then contemplated mediation, but mediation to restore the Stadtholder. Meanwhile negotiations were going on with the Court of Potsdam, where there was a strong French party opposing the alliance with England. A letter of Pitt's to Eden, dated September 14, 1787, is most warlike in tone, and says that the French must, as things stand, give up their predominant influence in Holland or they must *fight for it*. A war between France and England was on the point of breaking out. Montmorin declared that there was a strong party in the French Cabinet in favour of intervention, and that many regarded a foreign war as the best remedy for the internal calamities which were advancing with fatal rapidity. A war between France and England in 1787, whatever its result, would certainly have changed the destinies of Europe. War in Holland was so imminent in August that Harris burned his cyphers and sent his important papers to England, as the troops levied by Holland were coming very near to the Hague. A convention between England and Prussia provided for a joint intervention in favour of the Stadtholder. Before this England prepared a fleet for the defence of Zealand and sent an English general to Germany to levy troops. The Cabinet minute for arming the fleet is dated September 15; a haughty message is sent to the French Government and a note to the Courts of Europe. On the same day the Prussian army entered Holland in three columns. All resistance immediately collapsed. The free corps were broken up; the States of Holland agreed to bring back the Stadtholder to the Hague with all the authority of 1747 and 1766. Harris wrote that he can scarcely believe in the reality of what has occurred; he had no conception of a success so rapid and so complete. It was now too late for France to intervene; if the French ambassador came to the Hague he must enter it with orange-coloured ribands or not at all. Five days later the Prince returned to his capital. A mile from the town the horses were taken from his carriage, and when he arrived at



the palace he was borne on the shoulders of the mob. He was invested with every privilege that had been taken from him. He ascribes his restoration solely to the friendship and support of England. Within a week he was joined by his noble-hearted wife, who was received with the same enthusiasm and promised every satisfaction. The States of Holland were induced to repudiate the intervention or mediation of France. On October 2 Mr. Grenville, who had been sent on a special mission to Paris, was able to write that France had laid aside all thought of active interference and that he considered the Dutch business to be at an end. On October 28 Montmorin was forced to sign a most humiliating declaration of disarmament, coupled with the statement that the intention of the King was not and never had been to interfere in the affairs of the United Provinces. It may be doubted whether it was sound policy to weaken by this unnecessary degradation a power which was too weak already to withstand the revolutionary flood which was soon to overwhelm Europe.

It would be tedious and unnecessary to follow the details of the negotiation of the treaty between England and Holland. Vanderspiegel, the warm friend of England and pensionary of Zealand, was now made Grand Pensionary of Holland. The Dutch were renowned for haggling about minute points, and the most difficult matter to arrange was the possession of Negapatam, a town on the Coromandel coast with a good harbour, which had been ceded to England at the peace. It, however, remained in the hands of England, and the definite treaty between England and Holland was signed on April 15, 1788. A treaty between Holland and Prussia was signed at Berlin on the same day and at the same hour. The treaty was communicated to the Court of Versailles, and was naturally not received with satisfaction. France declared that she did not intend to allow the treaty to pass unchallenged. She required an explanation of its tendency, and was not satisfied with it when given.

The treaty between England and Prussia still remained



to be concluded. The King of Prussia was to stay with his sister at Loo on June 11, and Harris was invited to meet him there. In view of this important negotiation he was summoned to England to receive direct instructions from the Ministry. He was the bearer of an autograph letter from George III. to the Princess saying how much he should desire an alliance with her brother in his capacity as king similar to that which already existed between them in his capacity as elector. The King mentioned the peace of Europe, and especially a settlement of the dispute between Russia and Turkey, as an object of the alliance. The history of the negotiation is curious and romantic. There was a strong French party at the Prussian Court, and the King, weak and vacillating, did not know how to make up his mind. The Princess told Harris that her brother was afraid of him, from his supposed leanings to Austria, and that he had a most difficult part to play; at the same time she promised her whole support. Among the King's attendants was a Colonel Stein, brother of the famous minister, who was reported to be in the interest of France and opposed to the English alliance. Harris had determined to see the King alone, and gave a hundred ducats to the servant who stood at the King's door, promising as much more if he would exclude Stein till the next morning. The bribe was successful, as Stein twice presented himself and was not allowed to enter.

Harris saw the King at seven in the morning on June 12. He went over everything which had passed between the two Courts since the signing of the convention of October 2, explaining anything which seemed to show a reluctance to contract an alliance with Prussia. The King said that he had always desired to see the Courts united, and that he did not see why this should not immediately be done. Harris offered the option of immediately signing a provisional treaty or postponing it for the purpose of concluding a general treaty on a broader basis, to which other powers might be invited to accede. The King asked for some hours of calm

consideration. The rest of the day was passed in every kind of amusement, and it was not till after midnight, while the brilliant company were dancing, that the King asked Harris to walk with him behind the pavilion in which the ball was being held, and told him that he had decided to conclude a provisional alliance at once, with an act of guarantee for Holland, and to consult other powers as to forming a more extensive connection in the future. Harris and Alvensleben had no secretaries. They spent the rest of the night in drawing up the treaty with the secret articles. At nine o'clock the next morning Harris was summoned to the King's closet; he had already seen the draft, and had only a trifling alteration to propose. The treaty was formally signed by Alvensleben and Harris in the presence of Vanderspiegel, and entitled the provisional treaty of Loo. Harris had triumphantly removed the King from the French influence which surrounded him, and left him in a state of complete devotion to the interests of England and under a full conviction of the fairness of our conduct towards him. This is one of the few instances where a minister has made a treaty directly with a foreign sovereign without the intervention of that sovereign's responsible advisers.

Thus was concluded the triple alliance of 1788—a very important event in the history of Europe, which, lost in the folds of the French Revolution, which broke out in the succeeding year, has received less attention than it deserves. For a time the three allied powers gave the law to Europe. It made peace between Austria and Turkey at Sistowo, between Russia and Poland at Werelâ, and between Russia and the Porte at Jassy; it secured the Netherlands to Austria, and obviated a war between Spain and England in the dispute about Nootka Sound. So far it tended to quell the disorders of Europe, to curb the ambition of some powers, the revolutionary movements of others. It was powerless to conjure the terrible doom which hung over the devoted head of France. The whole course of its influence bears traces of the calm and majestic mind of Pitt. Still the advocates of

non-intervention may have something to say on the other side. It bound England closely with Holland, and thus was the final cause of the war with France in 1793. A careful study of the evidence shows us that the quarrel between France and England in that year, which led to a twenty-two years' struggle, was not caused by the opening of the Scheldt, by the conquest of Belgium, by the decree of November 19, or by the execution of Louis XVI., but by the threatening attitude of France towards Holland. The moment France menaced the independence of Holland the *casus fœderis* arose. Again, it led us to contemplate the so-called Russian armament of 1791, and the breach of faith with Prussia, of which public opinion in England compelled us then to be guilty, paved the way for the desertion of the coalition by Prussia in 1792, when she concluded the separate peace of Bâle. The peace of Bâle, whether or not it was an example to be imitated by other powers, laid Germany open to the attacks of Napoleon and kept the north of Europe quiet while its neighbours were being pillaged and revolutionised. Considerations such as these belong rather to the statesman than to the historian, and I must leave the discussion of them to those among my audience who are more competent to form a judgment upon them than the writer of this paper.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

THE LIFE OF SIR HENRY  
DURAND, V.C.S.I.<sup>1</sup>

Fruitful as the Indian services have been in the production of great men, it is not too much to affirm that few greater than Henry Durand ever donned the East India Company's uniform. It seemed as though a fairy had gifted him at his birth with every quality necessary to ensure success in life. He possessed abilities of a very high order, a large and generous nature, industry, application, and energy that knew no limit. Opportunities were afforded to him such as are given to few, and it is no secret that during Lord Ellenborough's tenure of office there was scarcely a high appointment which he could not have commanded. And yet all his qualities, his gifts, his opportunities failed to secure for him the place in Indian history to which he was eminently entitled. At every turn of his career he found himself baffled, thwarted, forced to turn back to make a new start. His was the hand that applied the fuse to the powder bags which blew up the gates of

Ghazni; yet no reward awaited the successful accomplishment of a very daring act, and for many years even the credit of it was denied to him. He had been offered a high civil office on the eve of the first Afghan war—an office which would have ended in a Lieutenant-Governorship years before he actually obtained one. He threw it up to enter upon the military service which requited him so badly. Fortune seemed within his grasp when Lord Ellenborough offered him the North-Western Agency. He refused it because he felt it would not be for Lord Ellenborough's interest that he should quit the place he held by his side. The post which he refused was offered to, and made the fortune of, Henry Lawrence. Appointed, on the departure of Lord Ellenborough, to be Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces, he was removed, on the most false and frivolous pretexts, by the corrupt clique which Lord Ellenborough had offended. Lord Dalhousie kept him in the cold shade of neglect because he had been a favourite of Lord Ellenborough. It is very noteworthy

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Major-General Sir Henry M. Durand, of the Royal Engineers.* By H. M. Durand. 2 vols. 8vo. W. H. Allen, 1883.

and very characteristic of the man that after each of these several repulses his energy and ability always forced him to the front. Placed in very trying circumstances during the Mutiny, his judgment and heroism attracted the notice of Lord Canning, and he was appointed Foreign Secretary. But the malignant demon still pursued him. Lord Elgin, who succeeded Lord Canning, promised him the reversion of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab; but, on his death before the vacancy had occurred, his successor, John Lawrence, refused to be bound by the promises of his predecessor, and Durand had to toil six more years before he obtained the coveted berth. He obtained it then only to die through the blundering of an elephant before he had held it many months.

Such is the outline of the story told in these volumes of the career of a very remarkable man. It is a story well told, and full of deep interest. The second volume contains Durand's minutes and contributions to literature, all of which can be read with profit at the present time.

#### HOLMES'S HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.<sup>1</sup>

The compressed story of the tragedy which spread devastation

and mourning in India and in Great Britain some twenty-seven years ago is told in this volume. To the task of writing it Mr. Holmes brings a cultured mind, large sympathies, and an earnest desire to seek out and record the truth. He has succeeded in placing before the general reader a work which gradually leads him through the successive phases of British rule in India to the point when a proud soldiery deemed themselves capable of casting off the yoke of their foreign masters and struck a blow for themselves. Well might these prætorians have reasoned that success was within their grasp. They possessed three-fourths of the guns; they guarded two-thirds of the forts and nearly all the arsenals of British India. They outnumbered their British comrades by about twelve to one. Had they all struck simultaneously it is hard to see how they could have failed. But the reader will gather from the admirable narrative of Mr. Holmes the real cause of their failure. He will see that their blows were made at isolated points and at different times, and that thus it was that the English were able, though with difficulty, to hold their own till the arrival of reinforcements. The second part of the story, the suppression which followed speedily on the

<sup>1</sup> *A History of the Indian Mutiny and of the Disturbances which accompanied it among the Civil Population.* By J. R. E. Holmes. With 2 maps and 6 plans. 8vo. W. H. Allen, 1883.

fall of Delhi, is told with an equal vigour and impartiality. Mr. Holmes is never dull. His facts are correct, and though in some points we may differ from his opinions yet the reader may be sure that those at which the author arrives are his own honest convictions and that he is well capable of defending them by argument.

THE ENGLISH CITIZEN : INDIA  
AND THE COLONIES.<sup>1</sup>

An essay by Mr. J. S. COTTON on India, and one by Mr. E. J. PAYNE on the Colonies, are included in a single volume of Messrs. Macmillan's series 'The English Citizen.' Mr. Cotton enters briefly into the very difficult subject of the race distinctions of India, and after sketching the history of that country in the fewest possible words passes on to the real subject of his treatise, the existing system of government. The political divisions of India, the machinery of administration and finance, are described in chapters equally clear and condensed; and those to whom the titles and relations of Indian official life have hitherto been something outside the region of definite ideas may here find sufficient information within the compass of a few pages. The most interesting part of Mr. Cotton's essay is, however, that

in which he discusses the effects of British rule and the probable future of India. Attaching himself neither to the optimist view of Indian officials nor to the pessimism which has lately found so loud, if not extravagant, an expression in England itself, Mr. Cotton weighs the undoubted benefits which English rule has produced against such serious evils resulting from it as the destruction of the village community, the extinction of a variety of native arts and industries, and the increased dependence of the population upon agriculture alone. 'Processes have been forgotten, and hereditary aptitudes have fallen into disuse, which can never be restored. An India supplying England with its raw products, and in its turn dependent upon England for all its more important manufactures, is not a picture that we can expect the Indians to contemplate with entire satisfaction.' In his considerations upon the future of India Mr. Cotton shows that the progressive spirit of the West has set on foot movements within India itself which will inevitably make an end of the stationary Eastern type of life. These movements are political as well as moral and intellectual. The native of India is no longer excluded from the public services; a career is opened to him in the

<sup>1</sup> *Colonies and Dependencies.* Part I. 'India,' by J. S. Cotton. Part II. *The Colonies,* by E. J. Payne. 8vo. pp. 164. Macmillan.

offices of Government ; he visits England, and learns something of the religion and philosophy of the West. Time will develop the fruits of this *renaissance* among an interesting race. The best hope for the political future of India lies, Mr. Cotton thinks, in the gradual substitution for purely English rule of an administration filled in great part by natives, but still supervised by Englishmen and stimulated by English example. In dealing with these great topics Mr. Cotton, while he does not refrain from putting forward his own view, does full justice to the opinions of others, and fairly states opposite sides of the case. His essay is an able and thoughtful piece of work.

Mr. Payne has been successful in the difficult task of introducing unity and interest into his companion essay on the Colonial Empire of Great Britain. He shows how the colony was originally regarded as an exclusive possession of the mother country, existing principally for its benefit and having no rights of its own, and how the English settlers in North America, in contrast with the Spanish searchers for gold, colonised for the purpose of living as they did at home, by domestic agriculture and domestic trade. He then traces the expansion of our colonial system by settlement and conquest, and points out the connection between the successive growths abroad and the

wars which from time to time England carried on against the Continental powers of Europe. The history of Canada exhibits the process by which a real responsible government was first instituted in our colonial possessions, to be extended in due course to Australia and Africa. The enfranchisement of the colonist, no less than the emancipation of the negro, resulted from the enfranchisement of the middle class in England itself by the Reform Bill of 1832. The last stage in colonial history is that of federation, effected in Canada, mooted but not yet effected in South Africa. Thus far Mr. Payne deals with history ; in the second chapter of his essay, entitled 'The Colonies and the Empire,' he treats of the economic, political, and military relations of the colonies to the mother country. 'The mainstay of colonial prosperity is agricultural production. Colonies thrive in proportion as they raise some kind of agricultural produce for export.' On the other hand the colonies are the great consumers of English manufactured goods, purchasing, together with India, one half as much as all our foreign customers together. The colonial trade is, moreover, preferred to the foreign, on account of its greater certainty and steadiness. In emigration Mr. Payne has to confess that the United States offer greater advantages to the



English labouring man than any of our colonies. In its competition with this great rival England is, moreover, weighted with naval and military burdens from which America is free. Though some of the colonies are nominally responsible for their own defence England must be mistress of the seas. The British fleet is the visible bond which secures the union of the Empire, and our communications have to be kept open by a series of naval stations. Mr. Payne shows that there are five great lines of maritime highway, and the distinctness with which he traces their course will not fail to impress the reader. After this striking chapter the closing one, which describes the forms of government in the various colonies, will, perhaps, seem somewhat technical, but it contains nothing that is superfluous: it is required to fulfil the purpose of the treatise, and it fitly completes an essay which will add to the reputation both of the author and of the series.

#### MACCHIAVELLI AND HIS TIMES.<sup>1</sup>

'Nicolò Macchiavelli and his Times,' by Professor PASQUALE VILLARI, supplies a long-felt want of an impartial biography of this sphinx of Italian literature and statecraft. It was long the fashion to abuse Macchiavelli. Butler,

the author of 'Hudibras,' already felt that there was something wrong in this popular prejudice, and expressed his dissent in the following lines:—

Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,  
Tho' he gave his name to our old  
Nick.

It was Herder, the great philosophical historian of Germany, who pointed out seriously the difficulty of judging writers like Macchiavelli. The formation of our mode of thinking, seeing, hearing, reasoning, praising, or condemning depended entirely on the general spirit of the times in which we lived. Neither Guelphs nor Ghibellines, 'major' merchants nor 'minor' shopkeepers, 'wandering poets, master masons,' Tories nor Whigs, kings nor newspaper writers, nor any one-sidedly inclined minds, were able to write the history of any period or any nation of any distinguished political or literary character. Only men who could divest themselves of all prejudices and could look upon facts from the lofty heights of objective impartiality should write history. To attain this faculty requires hard and long training. Humanity at large has not yet had that training, and only very few exceptional writers are found who are capable of judging individual characters on their own merits and according to the spirit of the times in

<sup>1</sup> *Macchiavelli and his Times*. By Prot. Pasquale Villari. Translated by Linda Villari. 4 vols. 8vo. Kegan Paul & Co. 1878-83.



which they lived. This will explain the different opinions that were pronounced on the writings, the private and public life of Macchiavelli. Frederick the Great saw in 'Il Principe' a most pernicious book. Gervinus the historian looked upon Ulrich von Hutten as an inspired Macchiavelli, eager for the reformation of Germany, as the latter for that of Italy. Lord Macaulay devoted one of his most brilliant essays to an eloquent vindication of Macchiavelli's character. The noble Lord was especially anxious to prove that Macchiavelli was neither 'a tempter' nor the incarnation of 'the evil principle;' that the Italian statesman did not invent perjury, tyranny, treachery, poisoning, assassination, hypocrisy, and that his works were not 'accursed things.' Professor Villari at last in his four volumes—enriched with innumerable private letters and official documents—gives us a deep insight into the true merits and shortcomings of the genial Italian reformer, who was so utterly misunderstood by his detractors as well as by his panegyrists. The work is exhaustive, just, and deserves the highest praise, its most valuable characteristic being a vivid picture of the religious, political, social, and commercial condition of the principal Italian States—the evolution of literature and art; sketches of the

leaders of the different prominent towns and republics of Italy, and their relations to the Pope and Church. The author shows us the moral and intellectual atmosphere of the times in which Macchiavelli was born, the pernicious effluvia he had to inhale, the bright sunshine of a happier future for which he was pining, and his longing for the glorious 'Rinascimento' of our modern times. As any means were used by Church and State throughout the whole of Europe for evil, Macchiavelli thought himself perfectly justified to advocate any means permitted to do good, to establish the independence, freedom, and union of distracted Italy. Political concrete and general abstract moral principles were not yet blended into one, which was a great mistake. Pasquale Villari has lifted the veil of historical misunderstanding from one of the greatest Italian statesmen, and his work will rank among the most important historical productions of our times.

#### SLAVONIC LITERATURE.<sup>1</sup>

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge continues to do the best possible services in publishing exact and well-digested works on the religious, social, and literary development of different nations without the pale of Christianity. 'Budd-

<sup>1</sup> *Slavonic Literature*. By W. R. Morfill. 12mo. S.P.C.K., 1883.

hism,' by T. W. Rhys Davids ; 'Hinduism,' by Monier Williams, M.A., D.C.L., &c. ; 'Islam and its Founders,' by J. W. H. Stobart, B.A. ; 'The History of Babylonia,' by the late George Smith, edited by the Rev. A. H. Sayce ; 'Egypt,' by S. Birch, LL.D., &c., are works that ought to be carefully read and thoroughly studied by the masses. One of the last publications of the Society is on 'Slavonic Literature,' by W. R. Morfill, M.A., which surpasses in richness of material, the immense amount of collected facts, and their masterly and concise treatment any of the publications mentioned above. In ten chapters we have, with generally correctly drawn philological comparisons, a survey of the different dialects of the Slavons from the earliest periods down to our own times. The 'Bilim' (Ballads and Sagas) of early Russian literature, half mythical records, half chronicles, abounding in endless impossibilities and miraculous vagaries, are given in great variety. Dissertations on the Palæoslavonic, Malo and White Russian, Bulgarian, Serb, Croat, Polish, Cechian, &c., literary products abound. The copious index contains about 290 Slavon authors and their principal works. The author shows not only a perfect

knowledge of the Slavon language and its lingual offsprings, but is also thoroughly acquainted with the works of the best German and French writers on Slavon literature ; and as literature is the truest mirror in which the historical progression or retrogression of nations is reflected, we cannot warmly enough recommend Mr. Morfill's new book.

#### FRESH LIGHT FROM THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS.<sup>1</sup>

Professor SAYCE, in his last little book, has gathered together the most striking points obtained by the decipherment of the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions in confirmation of Bible history, and the Religious Tract Society is to be congratulated on having issued a book which treats of the contents of these inscriptions in a useful and popular manner. This book of two hundred pages embraces a large variety of subjects and covers a wide field ; inasmuch as Egypt, Assyria, Palestine, Babylonia, and Asia Minor all claim attention it is not to be wondered at that each is treated in a brief and succinct manner. The question has been asked over and over again, How was it that these inscriptions were deciphered ? Mr. Sayce has answered this question

<sup>1</sup> *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, being No. III. of the series 'By-Paths of Bible Knowledge.' By A. H. Sayce, M.A. 8vo. The Religious Tract Society, 1883.

in his first chapter. Genesis, that much fought-over book, is next brought into comparison with the cuneiform accounts of the cosmogony and of the Flood. An unbiassed study of the cuneiform account of the latter will show the most casual reader how much the writer of Genesis borrowed from it. At times Mr. Sayce states as a fact that which has not been proved; e.g. he says that the word 'cherub' is of Babylonian origin, but neither he nor Lenormant, from whom he borrows this statement, ever succeeded in proving this. The explanation which Mr. Sayce offers is impossible, for he has confounded two roots, one beginning with a *caph* and the other with a *koph*.

Some interesting facts from the inscriptions are given in the remaining portion of the chapter, relating to Chedorlaomer, the Tower of Babel, and the history of Joseph and his brethren. This last subject has a prototype in the 'Tale of the Two Brothers' in an Egyptian papyrus in the British Museum. The papyrus was written in the time of Seti I., before ever Joseph could have entered Egypt. It gives the episode of Potiphar's wife and Joseph under different conditions, but the story is the same as that of the Bible, and was undoubtedly in the mind of the writer of Genesis when he was compiling his history of the children of Israel.

Mr. Sayce next treats of the labours of the Egyptian exploration fund in reference to their so-called discovery of Succoth. He takes it for granted that these ruins are the remains of the city into which the Israelites first marched in their flight from Egypt. Apart from the grammatical difficulties of identifying the so-called Pithom with Succoth, it is most improbable that an unarmed fugitive host should march straight into an armed fortress. Chapter IV. Mr. Sayce dedicates to an account of the Moabite Stone and the Siloam inscription. As the history of these important Phœnician inscriptions is now well known there is no need to repeat it here. The following chapter is set apart for an account of the empire of the Hittites, of which, by the way, we know nothing with certainty: there are the hieroglyphic inscriptions, it is true, but there is not an item of satisfactory evidence to show that they are of Hittite origin; at present everything is conjecture.

Far more important are the last two chapters of the book, which treat of the invasions of Palestine by the Assyrians and of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. The cuneiform records confirm generally the accuracy of the Bible history of these invasions by Sennacherib, Sargon, and others, and of the statements of the far-seeing politician Isaiah.

The account of the capture of Babylon is perhaps the most important of all terra-cotta histories yet discovered, for it does away with all conjecture and places our knowledge of this event upon a sure and firm base. Mr. Sayce's book is most interesting, and will serve the purpose of the general enquirer. It is a great pity that none of the religious societies thought it worth their while before to have a subject so closely connected with the Bible, and consequently with the belief of the nation, treated clearly and attractively. It is true that Mr. Smith's little history of Assyria exists, but it is simply a mass of facts strung together. It is to be hoped that Mr. Sayce's handy little book will lead more people to give their attention to the interesting and fascinating study of deciphering the 'records of the past.'

#### MEMORIES OF SEVENTY YEARS.<sup>1</sup>

In 'Memories of Seventy Years' the name of the authoress is withheld, that of the editor, her daughter, alone appearing. The reader, however, will gather that the authoress is an aged lady, grand-daughter of Dr. Aikin and grand-niece of Mrs. Barbauld, whose youth was passed among literary families celebrated at the

beginning of the century and not yet wholly forgotten. The reminiscences have the interest which belongs to all early recollections affectionately preserved in old age; and though they relate principally to the circle which gathered round Dr. Aikin and Mrs. Barbauld, some greater figures occasionally come within view, and an occasional picturesque touch gives life to the description of districts in London and the neighbourhood which were then so different from what they are now. The tone of these reminiscences, always kindly and forbearing, is in agreeable contrast to certain other recent utterances going back to about the same date.

#### CHRONICLES OF NEWGATE.<sup>2</sup>

Major Arthur Griffiths's 'Chronicles of Newgate' contain a mass of information on two quite distinct subjects, the prison administration of Newgate and the crimes of those who have been its inmates. The history of the prison administration is of real importance, and it is a pity that Major Griffiths should have cumbered what might have been a valuable work on this subject with several hundreds of pages filled with the monotonous and repulsive details of the 'Police

<sup>1</sup> *Memories of Seventy Years.* By one of a literary family. Edited by Mrs. Herbert Martin. 8vo. Griffith & Farran.

<sup>2</sup> *The Chronicles of Newgate.* By Major Arthur Griffiths. 2 vols. 8vo. Chapman & Hall, 1884.

News.' His history of prison life down to a time within the memory of living men is so frightful that it would be almost incredible were it not proved by the most minute and overwhelming evidence. However shocking are some of the crimes related by the annalist, it is not too much to say that the horror and iniquity of the prison system far surpassed them all together. It makes the name of law and of civilisation sound like a mockery when we read of the bestial and atrocious conditions to which those were assigned who, often for some trivial offence or for a debt of a few shillings, became the victims—for there is no other word—of the law. Let those who believe that good, respectable men in power will prevent the existence within the public administration of the most flagrant abuses and the most inhuman wrong study this volume, itself the work of a

Government official. No more impressive instance of the triumph of the spirit of active benevolence in the individual over the dull and half-despairing acquiescence in wrong is to be found than in the history of prison reform. It is to be regretted that Major Griffiths, while keenly appreciating the service rendered to England by the Quakers in this great work, should have fallen into a singular error regarding the most eminent public man belonging to that sect, and have represented Mr. Bright as protesting against the abolition of public executions recommended by the Royal Commission of 1864. Mr. Bright and the minority of the Commission, so far from defending public executions, signed a declaration stating that, in their opinion, 'capital punishment might safely and with advantage to the community be at once abolished.'

The following books have been received, and will be reviewed in the next Part of the Transactions:—

'Conquest of England,' by J. R. Green. (Macmillan.)

'History of Burma,' by Sir A. P. Phayre. (Trübner.)

'Early Chronicles of Italy,' by Ugo Balzani. (S.P.C.K.)

'History of Civilisation in Scotland,' by J. Mackintosh. (Aberdeen, A. Brown.)

'The Works of Keats,' Edited by H. B. Forman. (Reeves and Turner.)

'A History of London,' by W. J. Loftie. (Stanford.)

'Mary Queen of Scots,' by Hon. Colin Lindsay. (Burns and Oates.)

'City of Rome,' by T. H. Dyer. (Bell.)

'The Charters of Weymouth,' by H. J. Moule. (Weymouth, Sherren and Son.)

'Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland,' by H. B. O'Brien. (Sampson Low.)

'The Order of the Coif,' by Serjeant Pulling. (Clowes.)

## FRANCE.

A. CALLERY has written an interesting essay under the title 'Les Réformateurs de l'ancienne France' (Fontainebleau, 1883), with a special analysis of the character of Boulainvillier. The reformers of France devoted themselves exclusively to financial matters, and endeavoured to remedy many abuses in the levying and collecting of taxes. In no country have been committed more mistakes in the treatment of taxes by farming their collection than in France. The study of these and similar works must contribute materially to a correct understanding of the sanguinary character of the first French Revolution.—ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS has started a 'Revue Internationale' (Florence, 1883). To create, in spite of national and tribal divisions and subdivisions on the field of literature, an organ of true intellectual brotherhood, and to have contributions collected from all parts of the world, by authors of any nation, is an idea worthy of one who has been born in Italy, once the military mistress of the civilised world, later on at the head of the religious world, and now preparing to take the lead in the intellectual domain through the French language, which is spoken by all the educated classes of whatever country where education is not a sham. The 'Review' contains

contributions by Prof. von Holtzendorff of the University of Munich, 'On the Establishment of a Chair of International Instruction' or General History at the University of Rome; an article 'On Dante and the Dome at Florence,' by Giambattista Giuliani, professor of the Institute; an essay 'On the Division of Parties and the Parliamentary Government in Belgium,' by Prof. Emile de Laveleye, of the University of Liège; an admirable sketch of an Indian learned man, 'Rammohun Roy,' by Prof. Max Müller, of the University of Oxford; a short, terse, and most interesting extract under the title 'The Gods are going,' from a book soon to be published by Gaetano Trezza, professor of the Institute; 'On Russian Epics,' especially the legend of Rurik, by Dora d'Istria (Princess Massalski); 'On the Christmas Tree,' by Wm. Schwartz, author of a most valuable work 'On the Origin of Mythology' ('Der Ursprung der Mithologie'). Besides these independent articles there are correspondences from Paris, by M. A. Hustin; from Berlin, by Dr. Paul Schlente; from Vienna, by Dr. Ferd. Gross; from St. Petersburg, by Lector; from Belgrade, by Novakovic; from Lisbon, by Braga; from Stockholm, by Dr. Ahnfelt; from Leyden, by Dr. Byranck; from

Brazils; from Bombay, by Dr. Gerson da Cunha; and from Honolulu, by Irinicos—material enough to satisfy the most eager student of the history of our intellectual progress at large.—  
 M<sup>de</sup>. CAMILLE SELDEN has written a book, '*Les derniers jours de Henry Heine*' (Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1884), in which the authoress shows the firmness of mind in a nearly dead body of a writer who has added many valuable contributions to the history of Germany and France.—  
 Dukes in general are not always the best historians; they look upon everything from too exalted a position; but least of all are French dukes reliable when they condescend to give us their impressions of certain historical periods in which they played a prominent part. The DUKE DE BROGLIE, in a work under the title '*Frédéric II et Marie-Thérèse, d'après des documents nouveaux, 1740-42*' (Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1883), collected some documentary contributions in reference to the true causes of the dissensions existing between Prussia and Austria. The Duke hates the Prussians with too much vigour to be able to judge facts done by men of whom he dares to say, '*Tromper la France et la ruiner, c'est une des formes allemandes de la vertu*' (to cheat and ruin France is one of the German forms of virtue). The bane of history is that a phrase can so

easily produce the highest possible degree of differentiation, which, once grown into an infallible creed in a certain class of individuals, is very difficult to rectify even by means of indisputable facts. From the times of Louis XIV. down to Napoleon III., Germany was the battle-field of French adventurers, kings, consuls, emperors, diplomats, intriguers, and even newspaper writers. Whenever the French Governments did not know how to manage their own people they led their armies over the Rhine to adjust some German domestic quarrel. No better proof than the Duke de Broglie's own confessions. With an inordinate conceit he reproaches the King of Prussia with not having gone down from Prague to Pisek, where he (the Duke) was stationed. An historian might perhaps find fault with the French general, who, though a duke, ought to have paid his respects to the King of Prussia. This neglect of courtesy on the part of a German king brought about that coolness between Prussia and France which led to endless complications, to promote the interests of Austria, and to create all sorts of difficulties in Italy. To distort history, to use it as a tool for mere national or party purposes is not worthy of anyone who pretends to treat of the past. To call a king who had his own views



and was anxious to advance the welfare of his people 'a Satanic' Majesty shows a spirit incompatible with duties which a true historian ought to fulfil. To show the difference between an exalted royal philosopher and a biassed historian we will adduce an incident given by Duke de Broglie's son, who, when at Berlin, 1750, hesitated whether he ought to present himself at Court, considering the relations in which his father stood to the King. Frederick sent the young Duke the following message: 'Je ne suis point comme le Dieu d'Abraham, d'Isaac et de Jacob, qui punit la quatrième génération des crimes de ses pères; je n'ai point eu à me plaindre de M. de Broglie, mais j'ai plaint que l'apoplexie l'avait privé de la force qu'il faut pour commander une armée, et j'ai plaint la France, dont il a mal fait les affaires.' A king who was kind to the second generation of his detractor is sure to have impressed his nation not to mind the abuses of one of the fourth generation.—Written in a totally different spirit is the work of the French Senator, M. EDMOND SCHERER, 'La Démocratie et la France' (Paris, Librairie Nouvelle,

1883). France is in these pages shown in her struggle with parties who wish to push matters to extremes and have often disturbed the peace of a country that allowed itself to be carried away by strange impulses but as often again returned to common sense and thus in the end defeated the visions of anarchists, her greatest enemies.—A very important publication has been issued (Louvain, Charles Pecters, 1883) by A. F. MEHREN, under the title 'Les Rapports de la Philosophie d'Avicenne avec l'Islam.' In a former work the same author treated Avicenna's (correctly, Ebn Sina) ideas on God, the Absolute, the soul and its final reunion with the body. This time M. Mehren shows Ebn Sina's attempt to form a speculative philosophical school of Mahomedanism on the principles of Aristotle, but without paraphrasing or translating the Greek philosopher's works, as has been supposed. We learn also that the philosophical aphorisms left by the valiant Abd-el-Kader, who died recently at Damas, are nothing but copies of Ebn Sina (Avicenna) with his Aristotelian notions.

#### GERMANY.

'General or special history?' is the great question dividing historians into two, if not hostile, at

all events antagonistic parties. DR. BERNHEIM, lecturer at the University of Göttingen, endea-



vours in his work 'Geschichtsforschung und Geschichtsphilosophie' (Göttingen, 1880, R. Peppmüller) to settle the question whether a comprehensive philosophical treatment of history is more advantageous than a simple compilation of facts. He divides history into three distinct evolutions which have taken place. Chronicling, or collecting facts, was the first; during the second, writers endeavoured to point out some moral lessons to be gained on the path of deduction from an accumulation of facts; and during the third, which is the present most advanced evolution, writers attempt to find out the causes which have produced the different phenomena of history and their necessary effects on the path of induction. The representatives of this latest evolution are Herder, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, &c., from an ideal-philosophical point of view; Condorcet, Comte, Buckle, Dubois-Raymond (Dr. Bernheim ignores Draper, Sir John Lubbock, Tylor, Lecky, Spencer, Roux-Ferrand, Lenormant, Renan, and Laurents), from a socio-natural philosophical point of view. Mere transcendental ideas can be as little the basis of the study of history as the assumption of exclusively material laws working in Humanity. The factor of history is man, a complex creature

of mind and matter, and any *one-sided* treatment of this factor, as an exclusively spiritual or material entity, is detrimental to true history. Only a proper balance in the treatment of history between the deductive and inductive methods of Philosophy and Biology can give us a true solution of a task which, we shall never be tired to repeat it, forms the only possible foundation of all our higher culture as agents of history.—A master-work has been edited by order of the Berlin Academy under the title 'Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum consilio et auctoritate academice litterarie regie Borussicæ,' edited by ULRICH KOHLER (Berlin, G. Reimer, 1883). Nothing could surpass the activity of the Royal Academy of Prussia on the field of collecting the most valuable materials for the study of Greek and Roman History. Inscriptions of old were what Archives are in our modern times. The pre-Euklidian period has been treated in Vols. I. and II. This third volume contains all that could possibly be collected from the times of Euklid down to the period of the Roman Emperor Augustus. The work contains (1) invaluable documents of the treasurers of Athenê and other Divinities; (2) documents of transfer of the Epistates of the Brauronian Artemis; (3) a register of the Æskelepeion; (4) a register of silver cups, each 100 drachmas

in weight, offered by freed men and women; (5) records concerning the confiscation of landed property; (6) calculations of the profits concerning the sale of estates; (7) naval documents with correct lists of the ships possessed by the Greeks; (8) records concerning the Delic Amphiktyons; (9) records with reference to public works and other special offices; (10) enactments of the priesthood; (11) fragments of a dubious character. These titles must give our readers an insight into the deep interest which these records must have for anyone who wishes to make himself acquainted with the religious, social, legal, and political condition of Greece. To these collections are added lists of Archons, Prytanes, of judges and their judgments, priests and officials superintending religious ceremonies, of troops, mariners and sailors, agonistics, voluntary contributions to the Pythian Apollo, of Thiasots, Eranists, and Orgeons. Of private legal documents we have leases and agreements concerning the sale and farming of property, of public and sacred landed estates, high roads and burial places, of field mark-stones and mortgage-stones. The work is a perfect mine of facts for future historians.—GARDINER'S 'Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I. 1637-1649' (Longmans & Co., 1882), J. A. PICTON'S 'Oliver Cromwell' (Cassell & Co., 1883), and 'Oliviero Cromwell dalla

battaglia di Worcester alla sua Morte,' by C. PRAYER (Genova, 1882); are the three works concerning England's political reformation which took place simultaneously with Germany's Thirty Years' War, fought for religious freedom and independence, and which are admirably criticised in Prof. SYBEL'S 'Historische Zeitschrift' (Munich and Leipzig, 1884) by Moritz Brosch. Bolingbroke and his independence, the relative value of the works of Thomas May and Lord Chatham; David Hume's partiality; Walter Scott's romantic vagaries; Macaulay's and Forster's one-sided tendencies; Carlyle's masterly work placing 'the very soul of the greatest of all Puritans like an open book' before us; Gardiner's well-digested work, are all passed in review with the unbiassed spirit of a true historian. Several of the current accusations concerning Cromwell's hypocrisy are refuted, and his aim to make himself king, or, according to the Venetian writer Paluzzi (who wrote 'è certo'), Emperor of England, are treated with praiseworthy impartiality and a deep understanding of the character of Cromwell, who never ceased to see the advantages of a monarchy over a republic, which latter was to be founded by an army in whose ranks every tenth man thought himself to be an inspired prophet. With fanatics battles

may be won, but no lasting state-organisation can be founded.

—The works on special periods of German History are very numerous. BERNHARD SIMPSON has collected the records of the Frank Empire under Charles the Great (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1883); G. WAITZ published (Hannover, Hahn, 1883) '*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniæ historicis recusi*,' and CAROLUS RODENBERG (Berlin, Weidmann, 1883) has edited '*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*,' collected by G. H. Pertz. A work on Frederick the Great under the

title '*Zur Geschichte und Charakteristik Friederichs des Grossen*,' by Dr. EDUARD CAUER (Breslau, Trewendt, 1883, vol. vi.), is of importance. The counsellor of the Berlin School Board has collected in this volume valuable matter concerning Frederick the Great in general, and the king's notions on classical antiquity, his principles with reference to education and instruction, his ideas on princely power, and a complete plan of 'how to govern.' An interesting collection of essays and letters directed against the king, as well as Frederick's pamphlets written during the Seven Years' War, are added.

## OBITUARY NOTICES.

## JOSEPH DREW.

Joseph Drew, LL.D., son of the late Joseph Drew of the Dockyard Service, R.N., was born May 21, 1814, at Deptford. He was founder, proprietor, and editor of the 'Southern Times' from 1850 to 1862, and author of a poem in blank verse of over 2,000 lines, 'In the Beginning,' 'The Mystery of Creation,' 'Our Home in the Stars,' 'The Rival Queens,' 'The Life of the Duke of Wellington,' and other scientific and historical essays. He delivered, gratuitously, nearly 200

lectures, scientific and historical, to the various institutions in the south-west of England in 1867 to 1876.

The degree of LL.D. was conferred on him, *honoris causa*, by Richmond University, U.S.A., 1874, and he was Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Royal Society of Literature, Royal Astronomical Society, Geological Society, Society of Arts, and the Literary and Scientific Society. He died December 3, 1883.

## REV. WM. HENLEY JERVIS.

William Henley Jervis, the second son of Hugh Nicolas Pearson, Dean of Salisbury, and Sarah Maria Elliott, his wife, was born at Oxford in 1813.

His career at Harrow was brilliant, and ended by his obtaining the studentship for Christ Church College, Oxford. A severe attack of spine disease disappointed him in attaining his ambition of a first-class, but he took a second. In 1865 he assumed the name of Jervis upon the death of his wife's mother. A long residence in France gave him the opportunity of historical researches, which enabled him to

write 'The Student's History of France' in Murray's series of manuals, and subsequently 'The History of the Gallican Church from the Concordat of Bologna to the French Revolution.' His last work was a sequel to the latter—'The Gallican Church and the Revolution,' published in 1882.

A fortnight after the appearance of this book Mr. Jervis was crushed by the heaviest sorrow, the sudden death of his beloved brother, Hugh Pearson, Canon of Windsor and Vicar of Sonning. From this blow he never rallied, but on January 27, 1883, literally

fell asleep, to be laid near his brothers and their parents in Sonning churchyard.

His eldest brother, the Rev.

Charles Buchanan Pearson, Rector of Knebworth, who died in 1881, was a contributor to the pages of this journal.

#### JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE.

John William Wallace, LL.D., was born in Philadelphia in 1815. He became a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania in 1833, and was admitted to the Bar in 1836. In 1842 he edited 'Jebb's British Crown Cases Reserved.' In 1844 he was appointed standing Master in Chancery of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and in 1849 began the publication of the reports of the circuit court of the United States in the third circuit, known as Wallace Junior's Reports.

In 1841 he had become the treasurer and librarian of the Law Association of Philadelphia, whose law library is the oldest and one of the best in America. It thus became his duty to inform himself of the comparative merits of the reports from the Year Books down, lest, as he tells us, 'an extravagant price might be paid for volumes which were "now scarce only because they had been always worthless."' And, 'thus noting what memory or reading happened to supply,' the result was a modest volume of a hundred pages, now known in all the English-speaking legal world, 'The Reporters.' The knowledge and love of the subject shown in it, the appreciativeness, the sound

criticism, and the occasional quiet humour, soon made the little book a favourite, and its fourth edition, ably edited by another hand, appeared in 1882.

In 1863 Mr. Wallace was appointed the reporter of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and between that time and his resignation in 1876 twenty-three volumes of reports were published. The gravity of the questions which were then coming before the court cannot be over-estimated, and the complications of the civil war gave to many of them a novelty unknown since the days of the Berlin and Milan decrees. Questions of commercial law, of prize law, of inter-state law, of constitutional law, of international law—some of them questions as much perhaps of statesmanship as of strict law—were added to the already heavy business of the court, and came before it in rapid succession.

Apart from the duty he paid to his profession, his services as president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania from 1868 until his death were constant and valuable, and did much to place it in its present high position. In politics he was a Federalist, in

religion a churchman of the Episcopal faith.

Mr. Wallace possessed a peculiar and charming cultivation ; his acquaintance with history, biography, belles-lettres, and art was varied and exact, his conversation most attractive, and

his old-time, courtly manner, whether to the young or the old, brought pleasure to both. Last and best, he was an upright, honoured, and honourable man, and in public and private bore himself throughout as became an American gentleman.





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TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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CHRISTIANITY IN ROMAN BRITAIN.

By HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A., F.R. Hist. S.

It would be difficult to find a subject illustrating the benefits and drawbacks of religious controversy to historical inquiry more completely than the Early British Church. The zeal and vigour with which the struggle on either side was fought out at the Reformation had the effect of focussing a fierce light upon all available evidence referring to primitive times ; and of spurring the diligence of controversialists. Every by-way of history was explored for some fresh matter with which to point the arguments of that critical warfare. To this we owe such monuments of industry as Archbishop Ussher's 'Primordia,' the works of Stillingfleet, Father Parsons, and others. Since they wrote, the interest in the subject has continued most lively ; and while new materials have not been forthcoming in any great number, the old ones have been sifted and resifted with a care and perseverance which prove that something beyond the facts has been at issue, and that a fight of principles was going on behind the screen. This has not been a mere empty parade to the historian. For him it has done the most useful of all work, and that

N.S.—VOL. II.

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which has been most neglected till late years, namely, passing through the crucible of criticism the raw ore of evidence, and by repeated refinement extracting the pure metal which is alone likely to live. So long as the battle was fought on the old lines, little more than this was done, and the evidence, even when sifted out, has been used on either side with that distorted leaning, that want of balance, which marks the conclusion of the partisan rather than of the impartial judge. This distortion forms the other aspect of the picture; the drawback to the otherwise most useful side of religious controversy. There has now come a time when it is easier to be fair, when the heat and rancour of opponents have cooled down, and when it is possible for a traveller, who has not taken a decided part in the struggle, to survey the battlefield, and to see clearly that the victims and the trophies are not all on one side, and that the struggle has been in many respects a drawn fight. We propose making such a survey, with the help of several recent writers who have considerably cleared up the misty and difficult problem, notably Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs.

Our aim is limited to a survey of the history of the British Church from the earliest times to the end of the Roman domination in Britain, an epoch which forms a very natural frontier to our subject, since after that event the Church, under such missionaries as St. Augustine among the Saxons, and the followers of St. Martin among the Celts, took an essentially new departure. While we shall see that it is impossible to postulate for Britain in those days a Church independent of that of the Continent, leading a separate and substantive life of its own, apart from Continental traditions as was the fond dream of several patriotic and over-sensitive partisans of the Reformed Doctrines; while we shall see that, as was otherwise most natural, this little corner and outpost of the great Roman realm differed no more in its religious than it did in its civil administration from the rest of the Empire, and, so long as it was attached to that Empire, shared its phases of opinion as it shared its laws and institutions; we

shall see also that in those early times there was not that centralised and rigid hierarchical system which prevailed in later days; there was not that gathering of the threads of authority together in one hand, that dependence on one arbiter which distinguished a later period, and made Rome a veritable 'umbilicus mundi' to the religious world. That while it is a mistake to treat the Early British Church as either antagonistic to, or as separated from, the Continental Church, it is no less a mistake to survey these early centuries as if we had reached the days of Hildebrand, and to exaggerate the influence and power of the senior Bishop of the West. Quite a formidable literature has grown up round the initial stages of Christianity in Britain, and credulity and partisanship have vied with each other in painting fantastic and utterly imaginary pictures out of distorted hints and misunderstood allusions in trustworthy authors, no less than out of the palpable inventions of spurious and legendary authorities. Thus not only has Christianity been claimed as a British heritage in Apostolical times, which is in itself quite inadmissible, but the Apostles themselves have been credited with the Evangelisation of the island, and the honour has been assigned to at least five of them. It is not unprofitable to glance at some of these theories. First, as to St. Paul having been in Britain. In a letter written by St. Clement to the Corinthians he entreats them to imitate the example of St. Peter and St. Paul, the latter of whom taught righteousness to the whole world, having gone to the *τέρμα* or boundary of the West, and borne testimony before the governors. By the phrase 'term of the West' Dr. Burgess and others will have it that Britain, and Britain only, is meant; but the language is assuredly vague enough to cover almost any conclusion, and may mean Spain or the western coast of Italy, or even Rome itself, as distinguished from the Eastern world, as it has been held to do by Dr. Lingard. Dr. Lightfoot, the latest commentator on St. Clement, understands Spain to be meant. It is assuredly quite gratuitous to apply the phrase to Britain.

St. Basil<sup>1</sup> says 'that St. Paul went all over the inhabited world evangelising.' This again is assuredly a very general phrase. We are next referred to St. Jerome, who in one passage<sup>2</sup> says that St. Paul preached from Jerusalem to Illyricum; and that, wishing not to build on another's foundation, he directed his route towards Spain, running, in imitation of his Lord the Sun of Righteousness, his course from the Red Sea, or rather from ocean to ocean, 'ab oceano usque ad oceanum.' In another passage of the same Father,<sup>3</sup> in explaining 2 Tim. iv. 17, we are told that God's design in liberating Paul from Rome was that the Gospel might be preached by him in the western parts also ('ut evangelium in occidentis quoque partibus prædicaretur'). These passages again are vague and general, and cannot be applied to Britain rather than to other countries. St. Chrysostom uses phrases of a similar vague tendency, and says St. Paul went from Illyricum to the further limit of the earth.

Eusebius and Theodoret mention Britain as Christianised before their day, but do not state by whom; the former merely urging as a proof of the vitality of 'The Word' how Christians had penetrated into all parts, some having even crossed the ocean to those called the British Isles. Here again there is no mention of St. Paul. Theodoret in one passage<sup>4</sup> speaks generally of the wonderful fact that fishermen and publicans and tentmakers should have persuaded not only the Romans and those subject to them, but also Scythians and Sauromatæ, Indians and Seres, Hyrcanians and Bactrians, Britons, Cimbrians and Germans, and in fact every nation and tribe of men, to receive the precepts of the Crucified One.<sup>5</sup> Here we see that the language (if not describing after-events) is merely that of rhetoric, for we have mention made of Scythians and Seres, *i.e.* Chinese. In another place he speaks specifically of St. Paul having arrived in Italy, and having proceeded thence to Spain, extending his aid to the islands which are in the sea,<sup>6</sup> but the

<sup>1</sup> St. Basil Seleuc. *Orat.* xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> *De Viris Illust.* c. v.

<sup>3</sup> Theod. on Psalm cxvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Comm. in Amos*, V. Opp. iii. 1412.

<sup>5</sup> *Relig. Hist.* ch. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Theod. *Sermone ix de Legibus.*

islands here are simply Crete ; the authorities for the statement being expressly Rom. xv. 24, and Titus i. 5, and nothing more.<sup>1</sup> Again, Venantius Fortunatus,<sup>2</sup> writing in the year 580, speaks of St. Paul's writings (not of St. Paul himself) having reached Britain and even 'ultima Thule.'

These are his words :

'Et qua sol radiis tendit, *stylus* ille cucurrit,  
Arctos meridies, hinc plenus vesper et ortus  
Transit et Oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,  
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thyle.'

It was the *stylus*, as Dr. Lingard says ; not the Apostle, but his writings, which had reached in the sixth century both Britain and Thule. Lastly, Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (A.D. 629-636), is quoted by the Magdeburgh Centuriators and others as bringing St. Paul in person to Britain, but there is nothing to that effect in the printed fragments of Sophronius himself, and his authority is worthless if there were. There is, in short, no authority earlier than the Welsh Triads (some of which are headed *Trioedd Pawl* or Paul's Triads)<sup>3</sup> 'for special respect felt towards St. Paul's name in Britain, and none whatever for his personal preaching in this island,'<sup>4</sup> a conclusion which must be endorsed by all candid persons.

Let us now turn from St. Paul to St. Peter. Innocent I.<sup>5</sup> affirms, and that untruly, that Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, 'insulasque interjacentes,' were converted by missionaries from St. Peter and from the see of Rome ; a statement neither referring to St. Peter personally, nor including Britain,<sup>6</sup> but referring plainly to the islands of the Mediterranean. The anonymous commentaries on St. Peter and St. Paul attributed to Simeon Metaphrastes date from the tenth century, and Baronius says their author cites things out of Eusebius which are not in him, and otherwise pronounces his authority to be insignificant.<sup>7</sup> In this most unsatisfactory

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Williams, *Antiq. of Cymry*, 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist. ad Decent.* written in 402-17.

<sup>4</sup> *V. S. Martini*, iii. 491-4.

<sup>5</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 23.

<sup>6</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 23.

<sup>7</sup> Collier, i. 10.

author we have the outrageous statement that Peter actually spent twenty-three years at Rome, in Britain, and other countries of the West, and in particular that he lived long in Britain, where he converted many nations, founded many churches, and ordained bishops, priests, and deacons, and that he returned to Rome in the twelfth year of Nero, A.D. 65-66.<sup>1</sup> A passage almost identical with this is contained in the Greek Menologies,<sup>2</sup> a kind of Almanac which occurs in several forms, all of them of late date. We need not say these statements are quite contrary to all the evidence we elsewhere have, and are utterly worthless. This disposes of the claims of St. Peter. A spurious work, published under the name of Dorotheus, which dates from the sixth century, tells us that St. Simon Zelotes, having passed through all Mauritania and the regions of the Africans, and preached Christ, was afterwards crucified in Britain, and being made perfect by martyrdom, was there buried. 'This story is apparently adopted by Nicephorus Callistes, and inserted in the Greek Menologies.<sup>3</sup> The Roman martyrology and Breviary, and Bede, Usuardus, and Ado, make him be martyred in Persia,' which is much more probable. The story, as told by the late Greek writers (who form such a rich mine of fabulous stories) without any confirmation of any preceding author, is of course valueless.

According to Isidore, who wrote 595-636, 'from whom the statement is copied by Freculphus of Lisieux,<sup>4</sup> and from him by William of Malmesbury,<sup>5</sup> St. Philip went to Gaul, and thence sent missionaries to the barbarous nations bordering on the ocean.<sup>6</sup> This statement contravenes the more authentic one of Eusebius and other writers that St. Philip chiefly preached in Phrygia, and was martyred at Hierapolis. We not only have an author who wrote in the sixth century describing events of the first, but his phrase is a perfectly general one, and Britain is not named at all. It would indeed be a

<sup>1</sup> Giles, *Hist. of Ancient Britons*, i. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Die xvi Martii*.

<sup>3</sup> *Die xxix Junii*, apud *Acta Sanct.* ex MS. Cod., Haddan and Stubbs, 23. Giles, *op. cit.* i. 191.

<sup>4</sup> Ninth century.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiq. Glaston.* twelfth century.

<sup>6</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 24.

forced reading if we were to conclude that by the sentence 'barbarous nations bordering on the ocean,' Britons and Britons only were meant. For the presence of St. John here we have no evidence at all, save the mistaken notion held by the early Saxon missionaries in Northumbria, that he invented the Easter cycle used by the Britons. While the journey of St. James the Great to these islands is based on the forged chronicle of Flavius Dexter, St. James was in fact put to death by Herod in A.D. 44, before the dispersion of the Apostles. This completes the evidence for the presence of the Apostles themselves in Britain, and, as will be at once seen, it is no evidence at all, and compounded of misunderstood references to other places, and of statements in spurious, untrustworthy, and late writers.

Let us now pass from the Apostles to other persons named in the New Testament. The spurious Dorotheus and the Greek Menologies bring Aristobulus, mentioned in Romans xvi. 10, to Britain. They tell us he was one of the seventy disciples, and that when Paul ordained bishops to every district, he ordained Aristobulus, and sent him to the country of the Britons, who were wild and savage men, destitute of the faith. Nevertheless, he went and preached Christ; and though he was sometimes beaten, at others dragged through the streets, and at others made a laughing-stock, yet he persuaded many to come to Christ and to be baptized. After which, having erected a church and ordained elders (presbyters or priests) and deacons therein, he ended his days.<sup>1</sup> The tradition, says Mr. Haddan, seems to have filtered into the Welsh Triads, where one Arwystli Hen appears in connection with Bran, &c.<sup>2</sup> We fancy that it may not improbably have filtered the other way through some Celtic monk who was fond of etymologies, for the name of the British Aristobulus was probably created out of the Welsh Arwystl, which means 'a man of Italy,' according to Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs. One of the name was the son of Cunedda, and we are told in the legends that in the partition of his father's dominions he

<sup>1</sup> Die xvi Martii, *Mon. Hist. Britt.* cii.    <sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 24, *vide infra*.



took Arwystli, or the western part of Montgomeryshire ;<sup>1</sup> but this Arwystl lived in the fourth or fifth century, and had nothing to do with the Aristobulus of the Bible.

There is still another famous character mentioned in the Bible, for whom it has been claimed that he was an Evangelist in Britain, and this was Joseph of Arimathea, whose staff, that took root at Glastonbury and became the famous thorn, has been the pole about which much romance has gathered. For this story of Joseph of Arimathea there is no authority of any kind earlier than William of Malmesbury ; and yet, considering the details he gives us, and the famous rite with which he connects his name, it is passing strange that neither Gildas, nor Nennius, nor Bede, nor any of the Anglo-Saxon writers, have a word about him. Having added to the statement of Freculphus, which was in itself unwarranted, that St. Philip preached the Gospel to the Franks, the further statement that he then sent twelve disciples to Britain, he adds further, 'Joseph of Arimathea, as it is said, being one of them and their leader.' Although the King refused to become a proselyte, he did not oppose these missionaries, and even gave them a small spot surrounded with fens and bushes in the confines of his kingdom, called Ynswitrin by the natives ; afterwards two other pagan kings settled twelve *hides* (hides, be it remarked, in the first century A.D.) of land on them by instruments in writing, according to the custom of the country. There the twelve built a church, the walls of which were made of plaited osiers, which was finished thirty-one years after the Passion of the Saviour, and was the first church in these islands. Malmesbury cites as his authorities St. Patrick's charter and the writings of the ancients. The King's name who befriended Joseph of Arimathea is said to have been Arviragus, which has probably been suggested by a British king of the same name mentioned by Juvenal, who, however, lived in the days of Domitian. This so-called charter of Patrick may be consulted in Dugdale. It is an undoubted forgery, being dated in the year of the Incarnation, 425, a

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 98, note,

mode of dating which was not introduced at all until the year 525, and not generally used till the seventh or eighth century. Again, St. Patrick was certainly not consecrated till some years after the year 425, and the charter expressly says he went to Britain after Christianising Ireland. The charter also refers to indulgences, which were not introduced till the eleventh century, and we may safely put it down, as all other critical historians have done, as a forgery. A similar forgery is the Charter of King Ina, which is full of incongruities and contradictions.<sup>1</sup> The only other document of any age extant is the famous charter by which Henry II. confirmed the privileges granted to Glastonbury by his predecessors, and *inter alios* names Arthur and Cundred and many other famous princes, and likewise Keneval, a pagan prince—and goes on to say the Church there was called the Mother of Saints, and by others the Saints' Grave, as it was built by one of our Lord's disciples and dedicated by himself. This charter adopts the legend, and was itself endorsed in several documents of the reigns of Edward II., III., and IV., and thence, as Collier says, were based the claims of the English envoys at the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, to precedence over those of Spain and France; at the latter council it being urged that old records at Glastonbury proved that Joseph of Arimathea had gone thither.<sup>2</sup> But the whole story is clearly a fabrication made in those days of luxuriant forgery, the eleventh and twelfth century, and has been disavowed by Ussher, Stillingfleet, and every other critical historian. Leland suggests as probable that a number of hermits did settle at Glastonbury under some leader named Joseph, who was afterwards converted into Joseph of Arimathea, and this certainly fits in with the perfectly credible story that the earliest church there was made of osiers, was afterwards covered by Paulinus of Rochester with dressed timber and lead, and was in turn supplanted by King Ina's great church, as Malmesbury relates. The very mention of the church of wattles carries the whole story down to the fifth or sixth century, when the early

<sup>1</sup> Collier, i. 18, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 22.

monks, who had been trained at Lerins, planted their ephemeral buildings in various parts of Europe; and there can be small doubt that the foundation of Glastonbury, if so old, was not older than the fifth century, and had nothing to do with Joseph of Arimathea or Apostolic times.

Turning from extraneous legends to sagas of home growth, we find a story repeated with various detail by many patriotic Welshmen and their followers, about the family of a certain 'Bran the Blessed,' which is claimed as Christian in the days of Claudius, but this story is founded on an extraordinary misreading of the legend itself. Caradoc was a favourite name among the early Welsh. Caractacus, who fought against Claudius, was the first distinguished person so called. Caractacus, as Dion Cassius tells us, was the son of Cunobeline, who died before the war with the Romans commenced. Now more than three centuries later we have mention made of another famous Caradoc, namely, Caradoc Vreichbras, who, we are told, was the son of *Bran*, the son of *Llyr*.

In the legends about Bran, as interpreted by Williams and others, this later Caradoc is substituted for the earlier one. The latter is made the son of Bran the son of Llyr, in direct opposition to the statement of Dion Cassius, while Bran is made to live as a hostage for his son for seven years at Rome, also in the teeth of Dion, and it is curious and characteristic of the older methods of writing history to find Archdeacon Williams correcting Dion by an appeal to the Welsh Triads. These are not as inconsistent, however, as their commentators, and it is clear, as we have shown, that the whole story of Bran the Blessed in the days of Claudius has arisen out of a mistaken reference to Bran, the father of Caradoc Vreichbras, who lived at the beginning of the fifth century, and who possibly was a Christian.

There is still left for consideration a well-known passage of Gildas, the British historian, who wrote in the sixth century, and which has been interpreted as meaning that Christianity prevailed in these islands in the days of Tiberius.

After reporting the conquest and subjugation of Britain by the Romans, which he does in very general and inflated language, he goes on to say, 'In the meantime (*interca*), while the island was still rigid with arctic cold, as if the sun had been absent from the world for a long time, that true sun (*i.e.* Christ) from the highest vaults of heaven showed his light to the whole world in the days of Tiberius, which was retained faithfully by some and imperfectly by others till the time of Diocletian.' He then goes on to describe how Diocletian's persecution affected Britain. The whole sentence, tortuous as it is, does not even imply that Christianity was known in Britain in the time of Tiberius, but it is a mere general expression about Christianity being preached to mankind at large. And on tracing it to the authority followed by Gildas, namely Eusebius, we find that it is, in fact, a mere extract from the latter writer, who naturally makes no reference of any kind to Britain at this time, but merely describes the general effect of Christ's preaching.

We have thus glanced at the evidence for the existence of Christianity in Britain in Apostolic times, and have shown how, under a very slight critical scalpel, the various legends are torn to shreds. The conclusion that none of the Apostles or their immediate followers ever reached the island is most reasonable and convincing.

Britain during the first age, and for a long time after, was beyond the limits of missionary zeal and evangelical enterprise, and we hardly realise the very insignificant effect which this heaven, which was so effectually to stir the very vitals of the Old World, had had outside Palestine and the small colony of Greeks at Rome in the first half century after Christ. Having carried our scepticism so far, we cannot, nevertheless, carry it to the full extent of denying the possibility of some British resident at Rome having formed a member of St. Paul's little Christian flock there. In this, indeed, we are disposed to believe. The existence of British Christians is not the same thing as the existence of Christianity in Britain. Rome, the metropolis of the known

world, was the common centre to which pilgrims on all kinds of pilgrimages tended. There were those who were bent on pleasure, on acquiring power, or in furthering their own interests; those who were dragged there as captives or as slaves; those who went there in the service of the State as soldiers or officials; and those again among the fair damsels of the further limits of the empire, who were chosen as their wives by the proud Roman nobles, and who went with their lords. Rome was a universal world's fair—the great bazaar where costumes and languages of all kinds from all quarters of the globe were to be seen and heard, and where all kinds of strangers went to offer their wares or to see the mistress of the nations. It would be strange if Britain had not furnished a contingent to this motley assembly, and we know, in fact, that it did; that its captives were seen marching in procession in the triumphs of Roman generals, and that its chiefs were also found there as suppliants and as sycophants; while its daughters would seem to have received a peculiarly grateful welcome from those connoisseurs of female beauty, the Romans. It is about one of these daughters that the first dim evidence of British Christianity gathers. In his second Epistle to Timothy, which was written during St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome in the reign of Nero, and about the year 68 A.D., he sends greeting from various friends there, and *inter alia* he says, 'Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.'<sup>1</sup>

Now among the epigrams of Martial there are two extant in which Pudens and Claudia are mentioned. In the first of these he sings of their marriage thus:—

'Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti:

Macte esto tædis, O Hymenææ, tuis.

Tam bene rara suo miscentur cinnama nardo,

Massica Theseis tam bene vina favis.

Nec melius teneris junguntur vitibus ulmi,

Nec plus lotos aquas, litora myrtus amat.

Candida perpetuo reside, Concordia, lecto,

Tamque pari semper sit Venus æqua jugo.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* ch. iv. 21.

Diligat ipsa senem quondam ; sed et ipsa marito,  
'Tum quoque cum fuerit, non videatur anus.'<sup>1</sup>

Again in a second epigram, which has been much quoted :

'Claudia cæruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis  
Edita, cur Latiae pectora gentis habet ?  
Quale decus formæ ? Romanam credere matres  
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.  
Dii bene, quod sancto peperit fecunda marito,  
Quod sperat generos, quodque puella nurus.  
Sic placeat superis, ut conjuge gaudeat uno,  
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.'<sup>2</sup>

The Claudia of these epigrams, as we see, was a Briton, and it has ever been an interesting and a pardonable weakness among English writers to identify the Pudens and Claudia of the epigrams with the Pudens and Claudia of St. Paul's Epistle, and, as Dr. Lingard says, the coincidence and the inference are striking.

Martial was a Spaniard who went to Rome in A.D. 66, or earlier, and lived there for forty years.<sup>3</sup> He mentions Pudens, or Aulus Pudens, elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Pudens is described as an Umbrian and a soldier. He first appears as a centurion aspiring to become a primipilus, afterwards he is on military duty in the remote north, and the poet hopes that on his return he may be raised to equestrian rank. Claudia is described as of remarkable beauty and wit, and the mother of a flourishing family.

Linus, the third name given by St. Paul, also occurs in Martial's epigrams.<sup>5</sup>

The coincidence is indeed more than striking when we remember that the dates absolutely fit in with one another, and that all three names, two of them uncommon ones, should occur in either place. It is supported by certain other evidence. In 1723 a slab of grey Sussex marble was found

<sup>1</sup> Martial, lib. iv. epig. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xi. epig. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, *sub voce* Pudens.

<sup>4</sup> As in i. 32 ; iv. 29 ; v. 48 ; vi. 58 ; vii. 11, 97.

<sup>5</sup> As in i. 76 ; ii. 54 ; iv. 66 ; xi. 25 ; xii. 49.

at Chichester with the following inscription, in which we have extended the contractions :—‘[N]eptuno et Minervæ templum [pr]o salute domus divinæ, auctoritate Tiberii Claudii [Co]gidubni regis legati augusti in Brit. [colle]gium fabrorum et qui in eo [a sacris sunt] de suo dedicaverunt, donante aream [Pud]ente Pudentini filio.’ The letters within brackets mark the lacunæ caused by a corner of the stone being broken off.<sup>1</sup>

This very famous and interesting inscription informs us that a college or guild of carpenters, with the consent of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, the king and imperial legate, erected a temple in honour of Neptune and Minerva, upon some land given by Pudens, the son of Pudentinus.

Cogidubnus is well known to us from Tacitus, who reports that when Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula had conquered the nearer portion of Britain, they planted some colonies of veterans there, and made over some cities to Cogidubnus, the King, who behaved faithfully towards them,<sup>2</sup> and this stone enables us to fix his probable kingdom in Sussex and his capital at Chichester. The two names of Tiberius and Claudius, he no doubt adopted from his patron the Emperor. As has been said, if he had a daughter she would inherit the name of Claudia, and as the Romans allowed their women no prænomen, she would have no special appellation to distinguish her from the hundreds who bore the nomen of Claudia.<sup>3</sup> She would be a fitting match for a distinguished officer like the Pudens of Martial, whose mission to the extreme north may assuredly mean Britain. It is strange, at all events, that Pudens should be named in the above inscription as giving the site of the temple, and strange again that an inscription discovered in recent years in the Columbaria at Rome, mentions a Pudens as a servant of a Tiberius or Claudius.

But to return to Claudia. Mr. Bullock suggests with great probability that she lived at Rome as a hostage for her father, and probably received her education there. This

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* cxix. inscription 124.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Quart. Rev.* xcvi. 102.



would seem probable from the fact of her having been adopted by the Rufa gens or family, for Martial calls her Claudia Rufina. Now this family is also named in the New Testament. Rufus and Alexander are mentioned in St. Mark's Gospel, xv. 21, as sons of Simon the Cyrenean, and no doubt they were residents in Rome. In his Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul salutes a Rufus as elect in the Lord, and mentions his mother who had been kind to him; and in the early 'Acta St. Andreae et St. Petri,' both Rufus and Alexander occur as disciples of St. Peter of Rome. Rufus was doubtless, therefore, a member of the same little society as Pudens and Claudia and Linus.

Again, Aulus Plautius governed Britain from A.D. 42 to 52. His wife's name was Pomponia Græcina, and she is described as of illustrious birth, and the Rufi were a branch of her house. It was during the rule of Aulus Plautius in Britain, that Cogidumnus was received into the Roman alliance, and it is therefore more than probable that Claudia was the protégée of his wife Pomponia.

We are told that on her return from Britain with her husband, Pomponia entered the city with him, and jointly with him received an ovation. This was about the year 57 A.D. We are further told she was accused of embracing the rites of a foreign superstition, *superstitionis externæ rea*, and that the matter being referred to her husband for trial, according to the ancient custom, although he pronounced her innocent, she seems to have retired from the world and lived for forty years in a state of austere and mysterious melancholy.<sup>1</sup> Lipsius, the great critic, and many others, have deemed that the foreign superstition here referred to was the Christian religion, a conclusion which seems to carry every probability with it.

The facts quoted hang together in a singularly connected manner, and we question whether better circumstantial evidence is forthcoming for any remote historical position than the one we are arguing for. This is but the very modest

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 32.

conclusion that in the little colony of Christians which sat at the feet of St. Paul, and which heard his teaching, Britain was represented by at least one individual. It is not less interesting to find that another of the group connected with Pudens and Claudia, both by St. Paul and by Martial, was Linus, who in every probability was the same Linus who was the first undoubted bishop of Rome, and figures at the head of the long bead-roll of popes. It is curious, as has been remarked, that St. Paul does not mention Pudens and Claudia together, but puts Linus between them. This may imply that they were not then married, but were merely two members of the Christian colony at Rome—a colony which consisted apparently of a small coterie of well-born people who were devoted to Greek culture. 'Like every other novelty, the doctrine of the Gospel was imported into the capital of the world by Greeks—by men, at least, whose language and manners were Greek, and the names of the believers whom St. Paul salutes are mostly Greek,' says a learned writer, and in this colony, which numbered, as we know, members of Cæsar's household, and probably also some of the more literary residents in Rome, we may well believe that the Umbrian soldier Pudens and the daughter of the British king were united together by their common faith, as they are in the sentence of St. Paul addressed to Timothy, 'Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia salute thee.' Whether this famous tradition be true or not, it is clear that it does not carry us beyond the existence of a British convert among the Christian companions of St. Paul at Rome, and that it is an entirely different matter to conclude from it that Christianity in any way prevailed at this time, or until long after, in Britain. As Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs have shown, there is as little evidence for the existence of British Christianity in the second century as there is in the first. The only evidence, in fact, is the famous and now quite discredited legend of King Lucius, who has gradually disappeared from real history under the modern critical method. He was made a king of Britain, and busy conjecture was long at work to discover

whether he reigned in Sussex or Glamorgan. The date at which he flourished is very variously given, and Archbishop Ussher has collected as many as twenty-five dates, ranging from A.D. 137 to 199.<sup>1</sup> The earliest occurrence of the story is in a catalogue, or collection of short biographies of the Popes coming down to the year 527. There are two such lists extant. The earlier one, coming down to 353, makes no mention of Lucius, but in the second edition a line is interpolated under Pope Eleutherus, who was bishop of Rome from 173-189, which reads as follows :

'Hic Eleutherus accepit epistolam a Lucio Britanniae rege ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum.'<sup>2</sup>

This is the oldest occurrence of the legend, the fountain-source apparently whence it was derived. I need not say that there is no mention of such a king in the contemporary Roman annals, nor is there the slightest evidence that any king of Britain, dependent or otherwise, was reigning during the rule of the Antonine emperors. Such a fact, if it had existed, would assuredly in some way or other have reached us : some panegyric, some inscription out of the very numerous remains of the kind extant dating from this period ; but not a tittle of such evidence is forthcoming. Gildas, the oldest British chronicler, knows no such person ; and among our native historians, Bede is the first to name him, and he puts him in the joint reigns of Marcus Antoninus Verus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus. No such Emperors ever reigned. He dates the event in 156, while Eleutherus did not become bishop till 173. His account is that while Eleutherus was bishop, Lucius, king of 'the Britains,' *Britanniarum rex*, in a letter asked him to send some one to convert him to Christianity, and in consequence the faith was accepted in Britain till the time of Diocletian.<sup>3</sup> Bede and Nennius seem to have drawn their inspiration in regard to early British history from some common source. Nennius,

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 67, note.

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, i. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* cxi., cxii.

in speaking of Lucius, tells us that he with the reguli of all Britain were baptized on a mission being sent to them by the Roman emperors and the Roman pope Euaristus. Lucius, he says, was called Lever Maur (*i.e. magni splendoris*), on account of the Faith which arrived in his days.<sup>1</sup> Lever Maur, the great luminary, is apparently an attempt at etymology, by which Lucius is derived from *lux*, light.

In this account the honour is transferred to another pope, namely Euaristus, whose reign was from about A.D. 100 to 109.<sup>2</sup> It also makes him an overking of Britain, with petty chiefs under him, which is quite impossible at either date. Nennius also dates the conversion in 164 or 167, which is again inconsistent with Pope Euaristus. The legend grew with age. In the 'Liber Landavensis' (twelfth century) the names of Lucius's messengers are given as Elvin and Meduin. William of Malmesbury tells us that Eleutherus sent two evangelists, named Phagan and Deruvian, the Dyvan of other accounts, to convert the King. Lastly, in the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth the legend blossoms into full maturity, and we are told of the conversion of the archflamens who ruled in London, York, and Caerleon-on-Usk, and in whose places archbishops were appointed, while bishops were planted in the twenty-five other cities of Britain, &c.

The fact is, the whole story is fable from end to end. The name which the King bears in the Welsh triads and legends, namely Lleirwg, is no form of the name Lucius at all, which is a well-known Latin name. Now it is certainly very curious that one of the two emperors who was reigning at the time when the mission is said to have taken place was a Lucius, namely Lucius Verus. This has not been pointed out before, but we may go further. Lever, the Welsh name applied to our hero by Nennius, is apparently a corruption of Lucius Verus. Can it be that the whole story has been manufactured out of some blundered reference to that emperor?

The names of Phagan and Meduin are most improbable

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 60, note b.

ones for missionaries from Rome, and there is small doubt that these, as well as Dyvan, are *ex post facto* creations of some ingenious inquirer, who, having identified Lleirwg with Lucius, and finding four churches in the diocese of Llandaff dedicated to Lleirwg, Ddyfan, Ffagan, and Medwy,<sup>1</sup> invented eponyms to represent them, as in the Saxon chronicle a leader Port was created out of Portus, &c. The whole story is a baseless fabric, and the ingenious lucubrations of Archdeacon Williams, Jeremy Collier, &c., extending over many pages, may be classed as curiosities of literature. So determined were antiquaries, however, to retain their hero that two coins were actually forged, one in gold and the other in silver, with the name 'Luc' upon them. They are cited by Archbishop Ussher as having been in the Cotton Collection,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Haddan says the former one is now in the British Museum, and is a palpable forgery.

It is astonishing how far credulity will sometimes take people. This King Lucius, who never existed, has been made the founder of Westminster, of the church in Dover Castle, and of St. Martin's Church near Canterbury. He is said in one legend to have been baptized by Marcellus, bishop either of Tongres or of Trèves, in A.D. 286 or later, and another says that Eleutherus sent Timotheus to baptize him. The letter of Pope Eleutherus itself was fabricated, and appears with other Welsh fables in some spurious additions to the laws of Edward the Confessor in the well-known *Liber Custumarum*, dating from the reign of Edward II.<sup>3</sup> Charters of Arthur, dated April 7, 531, and of Cadwallader, dated in 685, have been forthcoming, mentioning the privileges granted to the University of Cambridge by King Lucius, privileges confirmed by Pope Eleutherus. He is said to have built the church of St. Peter's, Cornhill, Thean being archbishop of London; to have founded the College of Christian Philosophers at Bangor, to have rebuilt the church at Glastonbury, to have been the founder of the

<sup>1</sup> Rees' *Lives of the Saints*, 84. Williams, *op. cit.* 72.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, *op. cit.* i. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 26.

church and monastery at Winchester, and to have finally died at Gloucester in 201, and been buried in the great church there!<sup>1</sup> Another account states he became a missionary, and was martyred in Switzerland.<sup>2</sup> Let us leave these dreams and return to the papal list already named. We cannot, with Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs, assign the interpolation in the second list to so early a date as the time of Prosper of Aquitaine, nor can we believe that Bede had access to the 'Catalogus.' It seems to be essentially of British origin, arising out of some blunder or purposely invented story, to further the claims of Roman ascendancy in the troubled times when the Welsh Church was very stiff-necked, and to have passed from some Welsh chronicle to Bede and Nennius, and from Bede probably by interpolation into the Papal 'Catalogus.' The words of the interpolated passage are apparently based on those of Bede. The fact is that in the days of Pope Eleutherus, Christianity was still a very feeble plant indeed, even in Southern Gaul, *à fortiori* in Britain. It has been well said that Irenæus, about 176, in enumerating one by one the various churches of the West, speaks of none in Britain, and only mentions those among the Germans, the Iberians, and the Celts, 'and the latter term in Irenæus, as in Cæsar, means indisputably, not the Britons, but exclusively and properly the people of Gallia Celtica, the known seat of several churches; though (if we may trust the traditions respecting the Lyonnese persecutions, which are not likely to fall far short of the truth) of none at that time further north than Langres. Sulpicius Severus, a late authority (A.D. 400), but of some weight respecting Gallic history, in asserting the well-known Lyonnese martyrs of what he calls the fifth persecution (166-179) to have been the first martyrs in Gaul, explains his statement by the remark, 'serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta,' and if not across the Alps, then much less across the British Channel.<sup>3</sup> The 'Acta Saturnini,'

<sup>1</sup> Collier, *op. cit.* i. 40, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Ussher, *Ant.* 71. Bright, *Early Church History*, note 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sac.* ii. 32; Haddan, *Remains*, 224, 225.

again, quoted by Gregory of Tours, speak of the churches being rare in Gaul before the Consulship of Decius and Gratian. As Mr. Haddan says, this postpones the general conversion of Gaul (and consequently of Britain) to the third century; a few scattered churches being planted in Gaul from A.D. 150 to 170, of which Lyons was the chief, while the Christianising of the country, as a whole, cannot be dated earlier than the great missionary effort in the time of Decius, about A.D. 250.<sup>1</sup>

Our criticism hitherto has been chiefly destructive, and it goes to show that there is no evidence of the existence of Christianity in Britain in the first two centuries after Christ. It is only with the commencement of the third century that we first meet with satisfactory evidence that the New Faith had penetrated to these islands. This is in a famous passage of Tertullian. In the seventh chapter of his polemical work '*Contra Judæos*,' he tells us that even the inaccessible parts of Britain had become Christian, '*Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca Christo vero subdita*.'<sup>2</sup> Mr. Haddan remarks on this passage that it was probably written at a time when the Emperor Severus was engaged, but had not yet succeeded, in quelling a British revolt, *i.e.* about the year 208 A.D., and the phrase '*Romanis inaccessa loca*' does not affirm the existence of Christianity external to what had been, and shortly was again, the Roman province, but simply that Christian missionaries had succeeded where Roman soldiers at that moment failed.<sup>3</sup> The passage from Tertullian, however, is very rhetorical, and seems to be a generalised expression in which the limits of the Western world are named. '*Gætulorum varietates et Maurorum multi fines, Hispaniarum omnes termini et Galliarum diversæ nationes et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca*,' &c. Equally rhetorical are the phrases of Origen, who wrote thirty years later. The Britons and the Moors are contrasted in his fourth homily on Ezekiel, and mentioned as instances of the absence of religion before the advent of Christ. In his fourth homily

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays*, 223.



on St. Luke he similarly brings Britons and Moors together, evidently as correlative terms for the limits of the Roman world. On the other hand, in another homily upon St. Matthew, attributed to him, which Mr. Haddan says is certainly not later than his time, he says the Gospel had not been preached among the Æthiopians, while the greater part of the Britons, the Germans who lived about the ocean, and the Dacians, Sarmatæ, and Scyths had not yet heard the Word.<sup>1</sup>

At the close of the third century the bishopric of Rouen is said to have been founded by St. Mellon (286-314), who is called a Briton, and in his life we are expressly told he was converted from paganism at Rome. We now reach the famous halting-place in ecclesiastical history known as the Persecution of Diocletian, 303-305 A.D.

At this time Britain was ruled by the Cæsar Constantius, whose benevolence and humanity have been loudly extolled by his panegyrists. By some it is related, to his honour, that when certain Christians of his Court offered to conform to the idolatrous worship, he dismissed them from his service, saying that men who had been faithless to their God could never be expected to prove faithful to their prince. 'Hence,' says Sozomen, 'as Christians were deservedly retained in the service of Constantius, he was not willing that Christianity should be deemed unlawful in the countries beyond the confines of Italy—i.e. in Gaul, in Britain, or in the district of the Pyrenean mountains, as far as the Western Ocean.' Notwithstanding his clement character, Constantius was obliged to obey the orders of the Emperor; and Lactantius tells us that when the Edict against the Christians was sent to him without asking his consent, he complied so far as to pull down the churches.<sup>2</sup>

Gibbon has told this part of the story with his usual graphic force. He says, 'The mild and humane temper of

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, i. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* ch. 15. Haddan and Stubbs, i. 6. Williams, *op. cit.* 77 and 78.

Constantius was averse to the oppression of any part of his subjects. The principal offices of his palace were exercised by Christians. He loved their persons, esteemed their fidelity, and entertained not any dislike to their religious principles. But as long as Constantius remained in the subordinate station of Cæsar, it was not openly in his power to reject the edicts of Diocletian, or to disobey the commands of Maximian. His authority contributed, however, to alleviate the sufferings which he pitied and abhorred. He consented with reluctance to the ruin of the churches, but he ventured to protect the Christians themselves from the fury of the populace and from the rigour of the law.<sup>1</sup> But the Cæsar was not omnipotent even in his own dominions. The provincial governors could dare to disobey him, when in their zeal or rancour against the Christians they could protect themselves by quoting the public edicts of the Emperors. Thus it was with Datianus, the governor of Spain. Thus it seems to have been also in Britain. It is true that we have in support of this view but the authority of Gildas, and that his general statement about this persecution, as Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs say, rests as usual with him upon an unauthorised transference, to the particular case of Britain, of language of Eusebius<sup>2</sup> relating to the persecution in general, and is conclusively contradicted by Eusebius himself, and by Sozomen and Lactantius.<sup>3</sup> Yet it is otherwise probable that, if there were martyrs during the Roman occupation of Britain, they came to their end in Diocletian's famous persecution. The evidence that there were such martyrs, except as to one only, is no doubt feeble. One of them, however, stands out with a singularly consistent tradition, and one, too, dating from very early times. This was St. Alban, the protomartyr of these islands. It is not to be expected that we should have an actually contemporary record of him, considering how scanty documentary evidence about Britain at this time is, but we certainly can carry back the tradition to a very

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* ii. 275.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.* 6, note a.

early date. He is first mentioned in Constantius's 'Life of St. Germanus' (written 473-492). Constantius was in all probability a contemporary of St. Germanus, as he describes himself as of great age and very feeble in 473. His work has ever been accepted as of the highest authority. He describes the visit paid by St. Germanus to Britain in 432, and tells us how, after repressing the Pelagian heresy, he repaired to the tomb of St. Alban the Martyr, where he deposited some relics and carried off some of the earth made sacred by his blood. This carries us back to 432, but 130 years after Diocletian's persecution, and not an unreasonable time for a tradition of such an event to have survived. It at least shows that in 432 such a tradition existed. St. Alban is also mentioned, as I have said, by Gildas, who wrote about 560, and who calls him St. Alban of Verulamium, and in a verse of Venantius Fortunatus, who wrote about 580, and who says—

'Egregium Albanum fecunda Britannia profert.'<sup>1</sup>

But perhaps the best evidence of all, of the early and strong character of the tradition is that so famous an old city as Verulamium should have had its name changed to St. Alban's, from the martyrdom having taken place there. Beyond the fact of his martyrdom, we have perhaps nothing authentic recorded of St. Alban. The story told by Gildas, which is the foundation and nucleus of the longer and later lives, lives which naturally had a tendency to grow in length and complexity, tells us that he was a native of Verulam, who, having saved another confessor who was fleeing from his persecutors, hid him in his house and changed clothes with him, thus exposing himself. We are told that his conduct was so pleasing to God, that he was permitted to perform miracles, and, *inter alia*, he with a thousand others opened a path across the river, whose waters stood upright on either side, like those of Jordan. This miracle converted one of his persecutors, and, having courted martyrdom, he won it.<sup>2</sup> According to Bede, whose

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.* 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* viii. and ix.

authority was apparently the anonymous work known as the 'Acts of the Martyrs,' St. Alban having been asked to sacrifice to the gods refused, and was martyred in consequence on June 22. With him was decapitated the man who had been selected as his executioner, but who had thrown away his sword on seeing St. Alban's miracle. The man who did the work was struck with blindness. After being previously scourged, he was beheaded on a small flowery eminence beyond the walls of the town, where the saint had caused a miraculous spring to gush out.<sup>1</sup> This hill is now known as Holmhurst. Afterwards a church was built over his remains by his townsmen, and though it was subsequently destroyed by the pagan Saxons, the ruins were long visited by pilgrims, who believed that miraculous cures were effected by their means. In 793, Offa, King of Mercia, founded the princely Abbey of St. Alban's on the spot.

Matthew Paris relates a story of the discovery of a Life of St. Alban amidst the ruins of the ancient Verulam, which he says contained a history of the saint, written in the ancient British character and dialect. This story is palpably a romance, as is proved by the jejune and generalised character of the Lives of St. Alban which still survive, and which are evidently but amplifications of the short notice in Bede. The strangest of inventions in regard to the martyr was when Geoffrey of Monmouth created another saint out of St. Alban's cloak (*amphibalus*), who was afterwards known as St. Amphibalus. His life may be found told in the 'Acta Sanctorum;' nay, more, Thomas of Rudburn gravely tells us that his execution took place at Rudburn, about three miles from Verulam, where two knives of an extraordinary size, supposed to have been used at his execution, were kept.<sup>2</sup>

Beside St. Alban of Verulamium, Gildas names two other victims of the Diocletian persecution in Britain specifically, namely, Aaron and Julius, who were put to death at Caerleon-on-Usk. Besides these, there were a great number of victims of both sexes.<sup>3</sup> One of the Martyrologies gives St. Alban

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 113-15.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, i. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Gildas, *loc. cit.*

eighty-nine companions and another 888 or 889.<sup>1</sup> The 'Liber Landavensis' seems to indicate, says Mr. Haddan, that there was a 'territorium martyrium Julii et Aron' at Caerleon in the ninth century; and Giraldus Cambrensis, in his 'Cambrian Itinerary,' speaks of two churches there, dedicated respectively to Julius and Aaron. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who also mentions them, says Caerleon was famous for two churches—one built in honour of the martyr Julius, and adorned with a choir of virgins who had devoted themselves wholly to the service of God; and the other, in honour of Aaron, his companion, had a college of canons and another of 200 philosophers and astronomers, and was the third metropolitan church of Britain. In several of the Martyrologies<sup>2</sup> two names occur under the day XV. Kal. Octobris, namely, Socrates and Stephen, which probably, if genuine, preserve a record of two other victims of the Diocletian persecution in Britain. Nothing more is known of them. A third name, which occurs in a considerable number of these Martyrologies, and was commemorated on the VII. Id. Febr., is possibly also to be connected with the same event, namely, Augulus Episcopus, of whom we know nothing more. He is called Episcopus Augustæ—*i.e.* of London—in these lists. Lastly, we find it recorded by Bede that, on the arrival of St. Augustine in Britain, the people of Kent were found venerating the remains of a martyr named St. Sextus, who was buried among them. St. Augustine, we are told, identified this St. Sextus with a saint of the same name at Rome, and accordingly wrote to the Pope asking him to send the relics of the real St. Sextus. The Pope assented. This shows that a very early tradition of a martyr named Sextus existed in Kent, and that his memoria or martyrium was venerated there when St. Augustine arrived. Bede also tells us that at the same time there was a martyrium within and a memoria just outside the walls of Canterbury, and he reports that during the Episcopate of St. Mellitus (619–624) there was actually standing within the circuit of the walls of Canterbury a martyrium of four blessed

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 27 and 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 28–33.

coronati—*i.e.* four saints who had persevered unto death. In that year a fire ravaged the city, but stopped miraculously when it reached this church.<sup>1</sup> These may possibly be all traces of the Diocletian persecution. Gildas indeed would make out that the Christian colony in Britain at this time suffered terribly. In his words, 'it appeared as if the whole Church, leaving behind the dark shades of earth, emulously hastened in one dense band to the delightful realms of heaven as its own proper abode;'<sup>2</sup> but the value of his testimony on this occasion is much impaired when we find that his language is derived from Eusebius, and that, as usual with him, he has transferred to Britain Eusebian phrases about persecution in general; and, as Mr. Haddan says, his statements are conclusively contradicted by Eusebius himself, and by Sozomen and Lactantius. Bede's Martyrology is guilty of similar exaggerations, and makes the tale of martyrs to be as many as 888. Similarly exaggerated are the phrases of Gildas, copied by Bede, as to the way in which the faithful Christians after the persecution came out of the woods, and deserts, and secret caves where they had hid away, and rebuilt the churches which had been levelled with the ground, founded and erected churches to the holy martyrs, celebrated festivals, and performed these rites in public as if displaying their conquering ensigns.<sup>3</sup>

We must now consider briefly another famous name which has been connected with Britain in legendary history, but without due warrant, namely, that of the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great. The legend cannot be traced to any early date, nor can we understand Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's statement<sup>4</sup> that Helena, according to tradition, *and the earliest English historians*, was a Briton by birth. Neither Gildas, nor Bede, nor the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,' nor Florence, nor Simeon of Durham, have a word suggesting that she was a Briton. The first authors who

<sup>1</sup> Coote's *Romans in Britain*, 419, 420.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* clvi. Gildas, *De Excid. Brit.* quoted by Williams, *op. cit.* note, 77.

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Descr. Cat. etc.* i. 34.

make her so are Henry of Huntingdon, 1135, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, his contemporary; the latter, surely, a very unsafe guide, and the former an historian who has been immensely overrated, and who in this instance probably drew his inspiration from Geoffrey. Helena, as we know from very credible writers, was a native of Bithynia, a country which has been several times in the Martyrologies confused with Britain. We can easily trace how the legend originated. Constantius ruled in Britain for a long time, and also died here. Some of the panegyrists, who use ambiguous phrases, have been understood to mean that his son Constantine was born in Britain, although, as we know, he was really born at Naissus, in Upper Mœsia.<sup>1</sup>

Those who have traced the growth of legends will see how these facts were enough to create a surmise that Helena, the wife of Constantius and mother of Constantine, was a native of this island. The next step is a curious one: the wife of the great Welsh King Hoel-ddha was called Helena. Her death is mentioned in the Welsh annals under the year 928.<sup>2</sup> From this it was only a small step for the ingenious Geoffrey of Monmouth and for Henry of Huntingdon to make the Empress Helena the daughter of Coel, Duke of Kaercolvin, who was the reputed founder of Colchester, and who is better known perhaps to most readers, ingenuous or otherwise, as 'Old King Cole.' Henry of Huntingdon makes her build the walls of Colchester, and also of London!<sup>3</sup> It need not be said, therefore, that the whole legend about Helena's British origin is one based upon the very frailest foundation, and is a fable from end to end.

Let us turn from the Empress Helena to her famous son, the great champion of Christianity, namely, the Emperor Constantine the Great, who was perhaps proclaimed Emperor at York, where he lived for some years afterwards. His conversion to 'the Faith' was of course the great turning-point in its history, and was followed by its adoption by very large classes of the community, and notably by the army. Euse-

<sup>1</sup> *Quart. Rev.* xcvi. 99, note. <sup>2</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 837, 847. <sup>3</sup> *Id.* 702, 703.



bius speaks of him in 306 as having fortified his army with the mild and pure precepts of religion, and as then going against the land of the Britons, and against those dwelling in that ocean which is bounded by the setting sun.<sup>1</sup> It is from this date, doubtless, that Britain became largely recruited with Christian converts, and it was probably now that its local church was first organised into a definite community. It is, at all events, during his reign that we first meet with the mention of members of a British hierarchy. In 314, Constantine called the first Ecclesiastical Council at Arles, to consider the heresy of the Donatists. The acts of this council are attested by three British bishops—namely, Eborius, Bishop of Eboracum or York, Restitutus, Bishop of London, and Adelfius, Bishop of Colonia Londinensium; the last of which names is clearly corrupt. Some would read it Colonia Lindinensium, *i.e.* Lincoln; but, as has been well said, Lindum is entitled a colony only by the anonymous Ravenna, a doubtful authority of the seventh century, and the name would be Lindensium, and not Lindinensium. Another favourite emendation is to Colonia Legionensium, *i.e.* Caerleon-on-Usk, which was a famous Roman city, and the capital of Britannia secunda; but it was not a *colonia*, and the older notion of Selden and Spelman that it ought to be read Colonia Ladunensium, *i.e.* Camulodunum, or Colchester, which, after York and London, was no doubt the most important town of Roman Britain, and which was the only *colonia*, properly so called, in the island, seems the most probable.

Eborius has been said to bear a very suspicious resemblance to Eboracum; but it is clearly the good old name of Ebur, Ibar, or Ivor, which occurs as the name of more than one Irish bishop in later times, while he seems to be the same person who, under the name of Hibernius, joined in the synodal letter to Pope Sylvester.<sup>2</sup> Adelfius joins in the

<sup>1</sup> *De Vit. Const.* lib. i. ch. 8. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lxx. In another work he implies that there were Christians in Britain (*Dem. Evang.* lib. 3, ch. 7. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xcvi.).

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, i. 7.

same letter, but his see is not named.<sup>1</sup> Patriotic Welshmen have identified him with the Welsh Cadfrawd, compounded of 'Cad' and 'frawd' (brother), deriving Adelfius from the Greek 'Αδελφός, but it is clearly the Teutonic name Athulf, which increases the probability of his see having been in the eastern part of the island and near the Saxon shore, and not on the Usk. A Restitutus mentioned by St. Athanasius, without the mention of his see, has been supposed by Selden to be the same person as the Restitutus above named.

The three bishops were accompanied by the Presbyter Sacerdos and the Deacon Arminius.

From the acts of the Council of Arles we learn that the British bishops were at that time orthodox. The first canon of this council to which they subscribed, decrees that Easter should be observed on the same day and time everywhere, and that the bishop of Rome should give notice of it according to custom. The third canon was certainly not observed rigidly in the Celtic Church of later days. It prescribed that no bishop should consecrate another without the assistance of seven, or at least three, bishops.<sup>2</sup> Constantine's letter to the Church, quoted by Eusebius, who died about 340, ordered that Easter should be kept throughout the world on the same day, being the date observed within the city of the Romans, and throughout Africa, the whole of Italy, Egypt, Gaul, *Britain*, and Lybia.<sup>3</sup>

Our next authority is St. Athanasius, who flourished about the year 350. He tells us, in his 'Apology against the Arians,' how at the Council of Sardica in Illyria, held in 347 under the Emperors Constantius and Constans, sons of Constantine, three hundred bishops supported him from the provinces of Egypt, Libya . . . Gaul, and Britain.<sup>4</sup> In his epistle to Jovian in 363, he mentions that the churches of Spain, Britain, and Gaul had also assented to the faith which was professed by the Fathers assembled at Nicæa.<sup>5</sup> It would seem that British bishops were not actually present at the

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Canon, 20. Williams, *op. cit.* 233.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lxx.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

latter famous council, which was held in 325. Not only do no names of British bishops appear in the published lists, but, as Mr. Haddan says, the statement of Gelasius of Cyzicum, if it can be trusted, raises a strong presumption the other way, for he tells us that whereas copies of the Nicene decree were carried usually to their respective countries by the bishops of those countries, the copies for Britain, among the other Western Churches, were borne by Vitus and Vincent the Roman Presbyters, under the direction of Hosius.<sup>1</sup> At Sardica, also, no British representatives occur in the lists of bishops. These are, however, very corrupt, and it may be that they were not present, but sent in their assent subsequently. St. Hilary of Poitiers in 358 congratulates the British bishops, in common with those of Germany, upon being free from all contagion of the detestable heresy, *i.e.* Arianism. Hitherto, there were no signs of schism or heterodoxy in the island. The scattered congregations followed the views and the lead of the Gallic Church. This has been well expressed by Mr. Haddan. He says of the Church in Britain :

‘This poor and feeble, and not yet naturalised Church, appears in history as simply following the lead of the Western Church in general, and specially of the Gallic. . . . This dependence of the British on the Gallic Church proves its original insignificance and lack of individual character. It is evidenced in many ways. The leading Gallic bishops from the beginning of the fourth century to the middle of the fifth century—Hilary of Poitiers, Martin of Tours, Germain of Auxerre—successively swayed the British Church as absolutely as their own. In the Arian heresy Britain looked to the guidance of St. Hilary, in the Pelagian controversy it turned to St. Germain and his brother bishops, Lupus and Severus. The dedication to St. Martin of churches at Canterbury and Whitherne, the only two British dedications of Roman date, and the mission of St. Keby to Wales by Hilary, that of Ninian to Whitherne, and of St. Patrick to Ireland, in connection with St. Martin, show that even British missionary zeal, up to the fifth century, needed to be kindled and instructed from Gallic sources.’<sup>2</sup>

But we now reach a period when the British Church was

<sup>1</sup> *Remains*, 233.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 234.

infected, like its neighbour of Gaul, with the notions of Arius, which had spread so widely and were so nearly winning the day. They had received the patronage of the Emperor Constantius, under whose protection the Council of Milan was summoned in 355. There the British Church was beguiled into unintentional Arianism. All the bishops present (over 300), except five, joined in condemning St. Athanasius.<sup>1</sup> British bishops were certainly present at the Council of Ariminum, or Rimini, in 359, where there assembled 400 bishops who, by the Emperor's orders, were to be supported out of the public purse, 'but this' (says Sulpicius Severus, who flourished about the year 400, and was therefore nearly a contemporary) 'seemed indecent to our bishops, namely, those of Aquitaine, Gaul, and Britain, and they rather chose to live at their own cost. Three only of Britain, because of their poverty, took advantage of the State bounty, for although the other bishops offered to make a subscription for them, they deemed it better to be a burden on the public purse than on the bounty of individuals.'<sup>2</sup> At this council it would seem the British bishops with the rest were intimidated into surrendering the famous terms *Οὐσία* and *Ὁμοούσιος*, which have been such potent Shibboleths in theological controversy.<sup>3</sup> The aberration of the British Church on this occasion, when under constraint, was transient, and in 363 we find it communicating to St. Athanasius its adhesion to the Nicene faith.<sup>4</sup> St. Chrysostom, in his homily contra Judæos, written about 387, mentions a remarkable proof of the power of the Word, in that it had penetrated to the Britannic islands beyond the sea, and that churches and altars had been erected there.<sup>5</sup>

St. Jerome, who was the contemporary of St. Chrysostom, and wrote at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, has several rhetorical passages in his writings, in which Britain is used as a term to point the widespread evidence of the Gospel; the mention of Britons on these occasions arising, as Mr. Haddan says, from the geographical or

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 9.<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 9.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 10.<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xcix.<sup>5</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xcvi.

rhetorical motive of singling out one of the extremest limits of the Church ; and thence it is that so often in St. Jerome, or Palladius, or Theodoret, 'we find them specified as meeting their ecclesiastical antipodes, the Persians, not at Rome only, but at the then common centre of Christian patriotism, at Jerusalem, visiting the holy places, sharing with others the hospitalities there dispensed by the bounteous Lady Melania, or gazing with awe, as they traversed the neighbouring Syria, upon Simeon on his lofty pillar.'<sup>1</sup>

We have seen how closely related the British and Gallican Churches were in Roman times. This connection seems to have continued until the very end of the Roman dominion, and to have largely ceased only after the middle of the fifth century. A remarkable proof of it was the adoption of, and retention by, the British Church of the computation of Easter devised by Sulpicius Severus.

Mr. Skene has well explained the complicated question of the date of Easter. By the law of Moses the Passover was to be slain on the fourteenth day of the first month of the year in the evening, and the children of Israel were further directed to eat unleavened bread for seven days ; while it was further declared that the month of the year in which the fourteenth day, or the full moon, fell first after the vernal equinox was to be their first month. The Eastern Church, in the main, adopted this rule literally, and celebrated Easter on the same day as the Jewish Passover, on whatever day of the week it might fall. The Western Church, however, held that as our Saviour had risen from the dead on the first day of the week after the Passover, the festival of Easter should be celebrated on the Sunday between the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon on the first month of the Jewish lunar year ; and in order to find this lunar date, various cycles were framed by the Church. A cycle of nineteen years was eventually introduced at Alexandria by Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, in the year 270. In the Western Church, however, the time for celebrating Easter was calculated on a cycle of eighty-four

<sup>1</sup> Haddan, *Remains. Essays*, 234.

years, which was improved by Sulpicius Severus in 410, and continued to be used till 457, when it was displaced by a longer cycle, introduced by Victorius of Aquitaine.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, as we know, the old connection between the Church of Britain and the Continent was more or less broken by the invasion of the Saxons, and it was stranded and isolated. It was natural that reform and change should not under these circumstances reach it, and that it should have been exceedingly conservative of old customs. We find, accordingly, that while the rest of Western Europe adopted the cycle of Victorius, the Church of Britain retained its allegiance to the cycle settled by Sulpicius Severus. This difference was more than a mere formal one, and it no doubt created great scandal when it was found that one part of Christendom, to use the phrase of Lingard, 'was celebrating the joyous event of the Resurrection, while another had but lately commenced the penitential austerities of Lent, and it actually happened that in 417 Easter was celebrated at Rome on March 25, and at Alexandria on April 22.'<sup>2</sup> We need not wonder, therefore, that the Roman missionaries who came with St. Augustine at a later day should have laboured hard to overcome the prejudices sanctioned by antiquity among the Britons, which made them cling to the older calculation which, in their words, they had received from their forefathers, whose sanctity had been proved by a multitude of miracles, and whose doctrine they considered as their most valuable inheritance.<sup>3</sup> That the cycle followed by the Britons was that introduced by Sulpicius Severus, we learn from Aldhelm's epistle to Geraint, the British Prince of Cornwall, written about 692. His words are, 'Juxta Sulpicii Severi regulam, qui LXXXIV annorum cursum descripsit, decima quarta luna cum Judæis paschale sacramentum celebrant.'<sup>4</sup>

The mode of fixing Eastertide prevailing in Britain has been quoted in the controversies against Rome, but as Lingard

<sup>1</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 8 and 9.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 50, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 52.

<sup>4</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 13. Herbert, *Britannia after the Romans*, 41.

fairly says, it was as much at issue with the canons of the Nicene council as with the practice prevailing at Rome, nor did the Roman missionaries who condemned it treat it as schism. Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix of East Anglia lived in communion with Aidan and tolerated his obstinacy on the point, in consideration of his zeal and piety.<sup>1</sup>

It was not only in its celebration of Easter that the secluded Church in Britain preserved a primitive tradition. In the pages of Gildas we have numerous citations from the Bible. These are made from the early version known as the 'Itala,' which has survived to our day in such fragmentary fashion, and not from the new translation made by St. Jerome, which everywhere displaced it.

A third insular peculiarity distinguishing the British and Irish Church from the Continental one was in the form of the tonsure. In regard to this, Dr. Lingard has some judicious remarks.

'During the first 300 or 400 years of the Christian era,' he says, 'the clergy were not distinguished from the laity by any peculiar method of clipping the hair; such a distinction in times of persecution would have betrayed them to their enemies. Afterwards the Church proscribed among them all those modes, which might be attributed to effeminacy or vanity, and of course the long locks which were worn with so much parade by the northern nations.<sup>2</sup> But the tonsure, so-called, originated from the piety of the first professors of the monastic institute. To shave the head was deemed by the natives of the East a ceremony expressive of the deepest affliction, and was adopted by the monks as a distinctive token of that seclusion from worldly pleasure to which they had voluntarily condemned themselves. When in the fifth century the most illustrious of the order were drawn from their cells and raised to the highest dignities in the Church, they retained this mark of their former profession; and in consequence of the gradual adoption of the new costume by the clergy, the tonsure began to be considered, both in the Greek and Latin Church, as a necessary rite for admission into the number of ecclesiastics.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bede III.* ch. 25. Lingard, *op. cit.* 53, note.

<sup>2</sup> 'Deflua cæsaries compescitur ad breves capillos,' Pruden. *Περὶ Στέφαν.* 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 53-5.



This being its origin, we find that two fashions prevailed in early times; the semicircular tonsure in use among the Celtic monks, and perhaps a survival from an early form in general use throughout Christendom, and the coronal or circular tonsure which became the Continental fashion. The former consisted in shaving the whole front of the head, leaving the back hair intact; and the latter in the shaving of a round patch on the crown, which was surrounded by a circle of hair, supposed to represent the crown of thorns. Their enemies urged that the Celtic monks derived their form of the tonsure from Simon Magus; but, according to Aldhelm, they simply urged, as in the case of Easter, that it was the form they had received from their ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

Having examined some of the primitive customs which prevailed in Britain after reforms on the Continent had swept them away there, and which were an undoubted heritage from the days of Roman domination in these islands, we must again on with our story.

We have reached a period when Britain was not only Christian, but had the distinction of being the home of a formidable and famous heresy, namely, Pelagianism. The heresiarch from whom the system takes its name was called Pelagius, which has been very generally accepted as a translation of the Welsh name Morgan. He is called a Briton by Orosius, 415, who calls him 'Britannicus noster'; by St. Augustine, 417, who says of him 'Britonem fuisse cognominatum'; by Marius Mercator, 418, who says, 'Pelagium gente Britannum monachum tunc decepit'; and by Prosper of Aquitaine after 455, who styles him 'Pelagius Brito.'<sup>2</sup>

He seems to have found his way to Rome, where he became so naturalised, as Archdeacon Williams says, that Orosius and his friends, in answer to John of Jerusalem, who wished to exercise jurisdiction over him, emphatically exclaimed that the heretic was Latin, and that the heresy, being better known

<sup>1</sup> 'Auctorum et predecessorum morum tonsuram imitentur, quos divina illustratos gratia fuisse grandiloquis assertionibus contestantur.'—*Aldhelm's Letter to Geraint*.

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 15.

in the Latin parts, ought to be discussed before Latin judges.<sup>1</sup> At Rome he seems to have met with a Syrian named Rufinus, who was probably the foster-father of his eccentric views, for Celestius, his companion, acknowledged before the Council of Carthage that he had himself heard the doctrine of original sin denied by Rufinus. Williams says the latter had been under the tuition of Evagrius Ponticus, the Hyperborean, author of a metaphysical work which held forth the impeccability of man. He had also translated into Latin many of the treatises of Origen, who had high notions of the doctrine of free-agency. Whence we find Pelagius was treated with much greater leniency in the East, where Origen and Rufinus had many admirers, than by the clergy of the Latin Church.<sup>2</sup> The heresy known as Pelagianism had apparently no fixed or uniform consistency, nor did the disciples of the founder teach all which he held. His main position was a denial of original sin, and of the necessity of grace for performing good works; that all children were like Adam before the Fall—sinless; and that baptism was not a ceremony of regeneration, but a sacrament of adoption.<sup>3</sup> While he denied the pre-existence of souls, many of his disciples held that doctrine. A milder form of his views, known as Semi-Pelagianism, seems also to have prevailed in Gaul, and Hilary, Bishop of Arles, and Vincent of Lerins, are charged with it.<sup>4</sup> Pelagius was very cautious at first in delivering his sentiments, so that their heterodox character was not speedily discovered. His chief disciples were named Celestius and Julian.

‘On the approach of the Goths in 410, the heresiarchs were obliged to make a precipitate flight from Italy, and seek a refuge in Sicily. Thence they passed into Africa, where Celestius stayed some time in hopes of being ordained a presbyter in the Church of Carthage; but Pelagius soon left it, and proceeded to Palestine, where he was received with many marks of distinction by John of Jerusalem. He was summoned, A.D. 415, to give an account of his opinions before a synod of bishops held at Diospolis or Lydda; but as no charge of heresy could there be fairly substantiated against

<sup>1</sup> Orosius, *Apolog.* 624–5. Williams, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Prosper Aquitan. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Williams, 247.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 248.

him, he was fully acquitted. The following year, however, both he and his associate were condemned as heretics by a council held at Carthage, and also by another held at Milevum in Numidia. The decrees of these councils were forwarded to Rome; but Zozimus, the new pope, would not sanction them until the arch-heretics had been again condemned by a more numerous and august council, which was convened at Carthage, when he thought fit to acquiesce in the decisions of the African prelates.<sup>1</sup>

The Eastern and Western Churches, says Archdeacon Williams, were thus unanimous in condemning them, and presently Honorius and Theodosius issued their decrees, by which Pelagius and Celestius and their followers were formally banished from Rome. It is supposed that Pelagius, after his final excommunication, remained silent, and died somewhere in the East in obscurity, as we hear no more of him.<sup>2</sup> Collier quotes the following works of Pelagius as extant: 'A Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul,' attributed to St. Jerome; 'A Letter to Demetria, and some others,' in the last volume of St. Jerome; 'A Confession of Faith to Pope Innocent'; 'Fragments of a Treatise on the Power of Nature and Free Will' in St. Augustine. He also wrote a treatise on the 'Power of Nature,' and several books concerning Free Will, which are lost.<sup>3</sup>

That Pelagius was an excellent person, saving his doubtful views on some points, we have the testimony of his candid opponent St. Augustine, who speaks of him as of one whom he greatly loved, a man of holy and most Christian life.<sup>4</sup> He also found an able advocate in John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and also in his successor Prailius; and both Innocent and Zozimus, the Roman Pontiffs, were his friends.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, he or his scholar Celestius was fiercely assailed by St. Jerome in very strong language. 'The devil,' he says, 'although silent himself, barks through a huge and corpulent Alpine dog (? a dog from Albania or Scotland), who can do more mischief with his claws than with his teeth, for

<sup>1</sup> Williams, 99.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid. op. cit.* 100.

<sup>3</sup> Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* book i.

<sup>4</sup> Todd's *St. Patrick*, 192, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, 100.

he is by descent of the Scotie nation, the next country to the British; and like another Cerberus, according to the fables of the poets, must be struck down with a spiritual club, that he may be silenced for ever with his master Pluto.' <sup>1</sup> Ussher has argued that this refers to Celestius, his master Pluto being Pelagius, a view which seems reasonable, since we are told elsewhere so emphatically that Pelagius was a Briton, and we know that he did lapse into silence after his condemnation by the Council. On the other hand, it may be that the term Briton has been used loosely, and that the phrase is really aimed at Pelagius, whom Orosius calls a Goliath: 'Stat etiam immanissimus superbia Goliath, carnali potentia tumidus.' <sup>2</sup> St. Jerome also apparently apostrophises Pelagius as having the brawny shoulders of Milo. <sup>3</sup> In another place, in inveighing against a nameless opponent who had written against his commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, he says he wrote in the spirit of an unlearned calumniator, as did also his predecessor Grunnius (? Rufinus), and he speaks of him as overloaded with Scotch porridge (*Scotorum pultibus praegravatus*). Celestius, his disciple, is spoken of by St. Augustine as a man of acute genius. His name, it has been suggested, was the Latinised form of the Irish name Cellach; <sup>4</sup> but the evidence for his being Irish is very slight, and it is, perhaps, safer to conclude that Pelagius alone was a native of our islands, and that he came from the province of Valentia, which was much affected by Scotie invaders, and was at the same time the seat of St. Ninian's church.

The Pelagian doctrines seem to have spread with rapidity in Gaul, and we are told that in the year 425 the Emperor Valentinian ordered Patroclus, Archbishop of Arles, to summon all the bishops who were infected with them, and, in case they did not recant within twenty days, they were to be banished. <sup>5</sup> It is very probable that in consequence of this edict many of the accused people came over to Britain, and among them the distinguished person mentioned by Prosper of Aquitaine,

<sup>1</sup> Todd, *op. cit.* 190.

<sup>2</sup> *Dial. contr. Pel.* i. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Todd, *op. cit.* 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 192 and note 4.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 100.

who first introduced the heresy here, namely Agricola, the son of the Bishop Severianus.<sup>1</sup> Who this Severianus was it is very hard to say. No bishop of this name occurs in any other narrative of this time, and it may well be that it is used by Prosper as a form of Severus. Bale, as is well known, identified him with Sulpicius Severus; and for this view, which has not been popular latterly, it may be urged that Sulpicius Severus in his latter days seems to have adopted some of the views of Pelagius. On the other hand, Sulpicius Severus was not a bishop, but only a presbyter. Mr. Herbert, quoting Gennadius, says that 'having been misled by the Pelagians, and coming to a sense of the fault of loquacity, Sulpicius Severus kept silence until death, that by a repentant silence he might amend the sin he had committed by speaking.'<sup>2</sup> He adds that Severus's epistle, 'Ad Claudiam Sororem de Virginitate,' is filled with Pelagian sentiments.<sup>3</sup> Bale makes Sulpicius Severus visit Britain, but he probably confused him with Severus the Bishop of Treves, the companion of St. Germanus on his second visit.

Let us now revert to Agricola and his handiwork. The rapid spread of Pelagianism aroused the heads of the Church in Britain; and we are told by Constantius, the biographer of St. Germanus, who flourished about the year 473,<sup>4</sup> that the British bishops sent a deputation to those of Gaul, to inform them of the spread of the error, and asking for aid to combat it. Upon which a numerous synod was summoned and SS. Germanus and Lupus were commissioned to go to Britain and oppose the heretics.<sup>5</sup> Prosper of Aquitaine was a contemporary of St. Germanus, and was then living in Gaul, and engaged in repressing what remained of the heresy there. He went on a mission to Pope Celestine in 431, and afterwards became the secretary of Pope Leo the Great, and was writing shortly after 455.<sup>6</sup> Prosper, therefore, is an authority of the highest value. He dates this mission in the

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 100, 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Britannia after the Romans*, ii. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Todd, *op. cit.* 269, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 17. Lingard's *Hist. and Antiq.* &c. 8, note 2.

Consulship of Florentius and Dionysius at Rome, *i.e.* in the year 429. He does not mention the invitation of the Gallic bishops, nor the synod held in Gaul, but tells us that Pope Celestine, at the instance of Palladius the deacon (who was probably a disciple of St. Germanus), sent Germanus, the Bishop of Auxerre, as his vicar ('*vice sua*' is the phrase), to restore the Britons who had been led away by the heretics to the Catholic faith. St. Germanus, as we have seen, was accompanied by Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, and it is interesting to inquire what manner of men these two were. Mr. Herbert has condensed a graphic account of them, which we abstract.<sup>1</sup> Germanus, better known as St. Germain, 'was the son of Rusticus and Germanilla. He was a Roman, of Gaul, noble by birth and rich by marriage, a learned lawyer, and an eloquent pleader before the tribunals. He was governor of the city and district of Autisiodorum,' *i.e.* Auxerre. We are told 'he was devoted to hunting; and he used to hang up the heads of all the beasts he killed on a pear tree,' which was planted in the centre of the town and consecrated to that purpose. That was the mysterious and to this day unexplained ceremony of oscillation, in which various things, and especially 'the heads and faces of victims,' were hung upon trees and dedicated to some of the gods, most usually to Bacchus:—

'Thine, Bacchus, are their joyful songs, and thine  
The oscilla dangling from the lofty pine.'

VIRGIL, *Georgics*, II. 389.

Amator, Bishop of Auxerre, remonstrated with Germanus, its governor, against 'these insane rites and pernicious ceremonies,' but to no purpose. At last he seized upon an occasion when Germanus was absent, cut down and burned the abominable tree, and flung the wild beasts' heads (*oscilla ferarum*) out of the town. Germanus returned in a frenzy of rage, and raised all his adherents in insurrection against the Bishop, with the avowed intention of taking his life. But he saved himself by flying to Ædúa, or Augustodunum, where he was

<sup>1</sup> Herbert, *Britannia after the Romans*, ii. 73, 74.

received by Simplicius, the bishop. Amator declared himself *unworthy to be honoured with the crown of a martyr*, and expressed a wish that Germanus should be consecrated in his stead, because he was a vessel chosen by God. Simplicius assented to this with much reluctance, and on the plea that Amator was an inspired person. Amator returned to Auxerre, assembled the people, told them he should resign his bishopric, and desired them to elect a fitting successor; then he went into his church to solemnise a communion or sacrament, and upon that plea desired Germanus and his adherents to lay down their arms. This done he contrived, by shutting the church doors upon Germanus, to seize him, have him tonsured, robed, ordained, and declared coadjutor to the bishop, heir of the see, and successor of its prelate all at once, and all *by main force*, Germanus submitting like a 'patient lamb to the shears of the tonsor.' Soon after, Amator died, and the people installed his coadjutor by acclamation.<sup>1</sup>

Germanus accepted the position with reluctance. It was in 418 that he became bishop, a position, as Herbert says, of the first importance in the then rapid decline of the Imperial and civil power,<sup>2</sup> and he became conspicuous for his austerities. These facts we owe to Constantius, Bishop of Lyons, who composed a Life of St. Germanus forty years after his death, at the desire of Patiens, Bishop of Lyons, and his brother Censurius, Bishop of Auxerre,<sup>3</sup> and to Eric of Auxerre, a Benedictine poet, who wrote a metrical life of the saint in the ninth century.<sup>4</sup> Bede has copied the account of Constantius almost word for word in Chapters 17-21 of his work. St. Germanus founded a monastery outside the city gates; according to Constantius, he performed many miracles,<sup>5</sup> and struggled with the champions of the old Faith.

Let us now turn to St. Lupus, who is said to have been a relative of Germanus. Claudius Menardus makes him

<sup>1</sup> *Germanum ingeminant, Germanum ad sidera jactant.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* ii. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Herbert, *op. cit.* ii. 73, note a

<sup>5</sup> *Acta Sanct.* July vii.



his brother; Petrus Equilinus his kinsman. According to Eucherius, he was a brother of the famous Vincent of Lerins.<sup>1</sup> He was married to Punimola, a lady of Toul, and sister to Hilary, the Bishop of Arles. He and his brother Vincent were both inmates of the convent of Lerins. By the Welsh he is known as Bleiddan or Bleidd, *i.e.* the Wolf-man, or simply the Wolf, which is a translation of his Latin name of Lupus. He was the subject of the most hyperbolic praises on the part of Sidonius Apollinaris, who terms him 'the Father of fathers, and Bishop of bishops, and beyond controversy the first of all bishops in the whole extent of the world, to whose prerogative is subjected, and before whose censure trembles, the whole multitude of his colleagues.' He describes him as a second St. James, overlooking all the portions of God's Church from no inferior Jerusalem, as a junior rather than a minor Moses, &c.<sup>2</sup> He was Bishop of Troyes when the terrible Attila appeared there, and had a famous interview with him, in which Attila described himself as the scourge of God. He not only made terms with him, but accompanied him to the Rhine after the battle of the Catalaunian fields. This transaction seems to have compromised his popularity, and he was obliged to withdraw from Troyes, and retired for four years to Luçon and Mâcon, but afterwards found means to re-occupy his see. The seal of Troyes represents him on horseback, with the legend 'Sanctus Lupus Comes Trecensis' round it.

Among the works falsely attributed to St. Ambrose, and still extant in a MS. of the seventh century, is one entitled 'Liber in Laude Sanctorum Compositus,' in which the author describes himself as returned from the Britannias, where he had sojourned for some time (*diu moratus*) for the sake of conciliating peace.<sup>3</sup> The biographer of St. Germanus in the 'Biographie Universelle' attributes this work to St. Lupus. It is otherwise attributed to Victricius, Bishop of Rouen.<sup>4</sup>

But let us accompany the two companions to Britain.

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 103, note.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert, *op. cit.* ii. 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 80.

<sup>4</sup> Bright, *Early Church History*, 12, 13.

Leaving Paris, the two bishops went by way of Nanterre, where the famous St. Geneviève was professed as a nun by St. Germanus. In crossing the Channel they were overtaken by a storm; but, we are told, the waves were stilled at the prayers of the saints. These apostolical priests, as they are styled by Constantius, on their arrival in Britain applied themselves to their appointed task with zeal and devotion. They preached in the churches, the fields, and highways with such success that multitudes of the heterodox were convinced, and the weak and wavering confirmed on all sides. The heads of the heresy, having at first kept out of the way, at length promised to meet their opponents in discussion. The meeting took place, according to Florence of Worcester, at Verulamium, or St. Albans,<sup>1</sup> a view accepted by Camden, and supported, he says, by ancient documents at St. Albans. The triumph of the Gallic bishops was complete, and Constantius reports, in sonorous phrases, how they quoted the words of Christ against those of Pelagius; and although their opponents came with a great display of wealth and with many flatterers, the missionaries so carried away the multitude of listeners that they were with difficulty restrained from laying violent hands upon their adversaries, and applauded their defeat with shouts.<sup>2</sup> Having discomfited the Pelagians, the two bishops went to visit the tomb of St. Alban, bearing with them some relics of the saints and martyrs which they had brought with them, and, having ordered the sepulchre to be opened, they deposited them in the grave, deeming it a good harbour for them. Then they took up some of the earth where the martyr's blood had been shed 'in qua apparebat, cruore servato, rubuisse Martyrum cædem, persecutione pallente.'<sup>3</sup> This Germanus took with him to place in a new church at Auxerre, which he afterwards dedicated to St. Alban.<sup>4</sup> The day the bishops visited St. Albans a great multitude were converted.

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 104.

<sup>2</sup> *De Vita Germani*, i. 19, 23. *Acta Sanct.* July vii. Haddan and Stubbs, i. 16-17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Lingard, *op. cit.* i. 9.

Soon after this, we read how the Saxons and Picts joined their forces and attacked the Britons, who took refuge in their camp, and thence sent to ask the bishops to go to their assistance. Archdeacon Williams has well paraphrased the rest of Constantius's story.

'It was the sacred season of Lent, and the attention of the army was particularly directed to the due solemnisation of the approaching festival of Easter. A church was formed for the occasion, of interwoven branches of trees; the bishops preached daily. The unbaptized, who amounted to one-half of the people, eagerly sought the laver of regeneration, whilst all, casting aside their arms, trusted in the special protection of the Lord of Hosts. When the paschal solemnities were over, Germanus, at the head of the Cambrian soldiers, retired into a defile to await the arrival of the enemy, who, having been apprised of their unwarlike situation, were now hastening their march towards the camp in confident anticipation of an easy conquest. When they came up, the prelates shouted aloud, the army took up the cry, which was reverberated by the rocks and hills, "Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia." The Saxons and Picts, struck with panic at the unexpected sound, threw down their arms and fled in every direction, leaving the Christians undisputed masters of the field.'<sup>1</sup>

The general opinion of English antiquaries from the days of Ussher has been that the scene of these events was near Mold in Flintshire, at a place called Maes Garmon, *i.e.* the field of Germanus, and the church of Llanarmon in the neighbourhood is supposed to occupy the very spot where the wattled edifice stood, in which the army celebrated the services of Easter;<sup>2</sup> but, as Lingard says, it is hardly probable that Germanus travelled as far as North Wales.<sup>3</sup> That district was then in a very troubled condition, and it is much more probable that the name of Maes Garmon was a posthumous honour paid to the rank rather than a contemporary record of him. In reading of a bishop undertaking the command of an army, we must remember the antecedents of St. Germanus, and that he was a high civil official and accustomed to command before he became a bishop.

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 104-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* and notes to Constantius in the *Acta Sancti*.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* 11, note.

We do not know how long the two bishops stayed here, and are merely told that, having restored peace to the Church and discomfited the enemy, they returned home again. Their absence from their dioceses is not likely to have been prolonged, and it is quite incredible that they should have spent years in Britain, as some of the Welsh writers argue. Some traces of their visit were left behind, which subsist to our day among those very stable monuments, the dedications of churches, although they were probably posthumous and not contemporary; thus the village church of Llanarmon, in the Vale of Llangollen, is dedicated to St. Garmon, or St. Germanus.<sup>1</sup> There is another village called Nant-y-Bettws, or Bettws Garmon, two and a-half miles from Carnarvon, whose church is also dedicated to St. Garmon.<sup>2</sup> There is a third church dedicated to St. Garmon, at Llanvechain, in Montgomeryshire.<sup>3</sup> Of churches dedicated to St. Lupus, or Bleiddian, are those of Llanvleiddian Vawr, and Llanvleiddian Vach, in the county of Glamorgan.<sup>4</sup>

Some time after,<sup>5</sup> news again arrived from Britain that the Pelagian heresy was once more spreading there, and once more the British bishops repaired to the holy man (*i.e.* to Germanus). Having taken with him Severus, a disciple of St. Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, who was at this time Bishop of Treves, and who had first preached the Gospel, we are told, to the Germans, he once more crossed the water and repaired to Britain. The second visit of Germanus has been generally dated about the year 447, in consequence of the statement of Constantius, that it occurred shortly before the death of Germanus. But this date seems to be shrouded in some obscurity; we are informed that the visit took place during the episcopate of Hilary of Arles, which falls within the years 430-448, and that Germanus died at Ravenna, while Placidia, the Empress, and her son Valentinian were living, the latter

<sup>1</sup> Nicholson, *Cambrian Traveller's Guide*, 369. Williams, *op. cit.* 109.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholson, 152, 153.

<sup>3</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 105.

<sup>5</sup> 'Interea' is the word used by Constantius, which is paraphrased 'nec multo interposito tempore' by Bede.

being still young; 'jam juvene' is the phrase of Constantius. Valentinian was born in the year 419. Constantius tells us Germanus had been bishop thirty years and twenty-five days, and as he immediately succeeded Amator, who died in 419, it would make him die in 449, and his second journey to Britain was probably not very long before this. His companion, Severus, is rather an enigma. The Bollandists have collected a few scattered facts, which they have linked together under his name in the October series of the 'Acta Sanctorum,' day 15. But there is hardly a tangible record, and it is only conjecture that identifies the Germans whom he converted with the Burgundians, who were Christianised in the first half of the fifth century.

The Britons having assembled together to greet the two saints, we are told how one Elafius, a person of the first rank in those parts, appeared with the crowd, and brought with him his son, who had a grievous affliction, in that the sinews of his legs were shrivelled. The bishops found that the great bulk of the people remained orthodox, and that only a minority, whom they proceeded to denounce, were affected with the heresy. We are told that St. Germain then restored the limbs of the son of Elaf to their pristine vigour, and gave him back to his father. The people were much affected by the miracle, and were restored to their allegiance to the faith, and they determined to expel the authors of the heresy from the island. The latter were handed over to the bishops to be transported to the South ('ad mediterraneam'). This was perhaps under the provisions of the law of Valentinian already mentioned. The remedy was so effective, says Constantius, that, even when he wrote, the island remained orthodox and attached to the Faith.<sup>1</sup>

Among the exiles on this occasion it is probable we ought to number Fastidius. He is mentioned by Gennadius of Marseilles, who wrote about the year 490. One MS. calls him a Briton, another calls him a Bishop of the Britons.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Constantius de V. Germain ii. 1-4. Haddan and Stubbs, i. 18 and 19.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard, *op. cit.* 12, note.

Gennadius, speaking of his works, says he wrote one on the Christian life, and another on the condition of widowhood ('de vita christiana librum unum et alium de viduitate servanda').<sup>1</sup> This work is apparently still extant. Dr. Lingard, I know not for what reason, suggests that he was an Armorican, and not an insular Briton. In the eleventh chapter of his work 'De Vita Christiana,' Fastidius approves of the following prayer, 'Thou knowest, Lord, these hands which I lift up are holy.' This prayer was denounced when used by Pelagius, and it would seem that Fastidius was in fact infected with semi-Pelagianism.<sup>2</sup> In the 'Historia Britonum,' or at all events in the edition of that work edited by Mark the Hermit, who furnished the biographer Heric with some miracles with which to garnish his life of St. Germanus, the latter saint is brought into close contact with the British King Vortigern, who, we are told, committed incest with his own daughter<sup>3</sup>; the child, the product of this unnatural connection, was adopted by St. Germanus, who shaved his head, and summoned a synod to reprove the father. The boy was named Faustus, and we are told by the same authority that he was brought up and educated by the bishop, and that he built a monastery on the banks of the river Renis, which was called after his name.<sup>4</sup> This story, so full of anachronisms, is of no authority whatever, and is one of the many wild legends we owe to Mark the Hermit. It is curious to trace its origin, however. We have no doubt that Mr. Gunn, the editor of Mark's work, has rightly guessed its paternity. The Faustus of this legend has been created out of another Faustus, who was a contemporary of St. Germanus, and was a Briton. He became Abbot of Lerins some time after the death of St. Germanus, and was subsequently made Bishop

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit. C.*

<sup>2</sup> In a Cornish 'Missa S. Germani' dating probably from the 9th century and printed by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs (i. 696, 697), it is claimed that he preached in Cornwall, and that his relics were preserved in the church of St. Germans, which for some reason is referred to as 'Launaledensis ecclesie.'

<sup>3</sup> The Cornish 'Missa Germani' above mentioned contains the apostrophe, 'Te irasci magis quam misereri propter vesaniam dementiamque imp[er]ii et crudelis Regis Guortherni.' Haddan and Stubbs, i. 696.

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit. lxx.*

of Riez, which accounts for 'the river Renis' of the legend. Himself a semi-Pelagian, and the author of several works which remain, he offered hospitality to Pelagius on his journey through Gaul, and thus won the hatred of the orthodox clergy. This probably led to the accusation of his having been the product of incest. Faustus lived till the close of the fifth century. He was on terms of close friendship with Sidonius Apollinaris, and had such a reputation for piety and learning, that he was worshipped as a saint in the Church of Riez, while the Gallican bishops in the Council of Arles employed him to draw up their sense on the points about predestination and grace.<sup>1</sup> Collier publishes some of his criticisms, which are orthodox enough, as well as masterly in their exposure of the errors of those followers of St. Augustine, who may be described, to use an anachronistic phrase, as the ultra-Calvinists of the day. His works were, however, attacked by Cæsarius and Avitus, two Gaulish bishops of learning and piety, while in Africa, Fulgentius wrote seven books against him, and he was generally denounced in the East, as he was condemned by the Second Council of Orange.<sup>2</sup> He has been overlooked, although a Briton and a person of such eminence and learning, by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs, in their admirable collection of materials for the history of British Christianity.

The presence of other heresies besides Pelagianism in Britain has been argued; first, from the discovery of an alleged Basilidian talisman at Llanbelig, near Carnarvon, close to the Roman station of Segontium. 'This was a very attenuated plate of gold measuring about four inches by one, and having on it distinctly in Greek letters the Hebrew words, ΑΔΩΝΑΙ · ΕΛΩΑΙ · ΙΑΩ ΕΛΛΙΩΝ · followed by another in astral or magical characters.'<sup>3</sup> Secondly, we are told by Sulpicius Severus that Instantius, a Spanish bishop, and Tiberian, who were leaders of the Priscillianists, were banished to Scilly, 'Sylina insula quæ ultra Britanniam sita est.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Collier, i. 124.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>3</sup> Williams, *op. cit.* 245.<sup>4</sup> Herbert, *op. cit.* 49, 50.



Having traced out the dim picture of the progress of Christianity in Britain during Roman times by the faint lights supplied us in the classical writers, we may now try to realise the extent to which Britain was Christianised at the time of the break-up of the Empire. For this purpose we have two sources of information, the writings of St. Patrick and those of Gildas. Of these, the former seem to be the best authenticated, and the general consensus of opinion agrees with Dr. Todd, that two documents relating to the proto-apostle of Ireland are very probably from his own hand, or at all events contemporary with him. These are his well-known 'Confessio' and his 'Epistle to Coroticus.' From the former we learn that he was a native of the Roman province of Valentia, and a citizen of a Roman town situated on the Clyde, where Dumbarton is. He was born a Christian, his father Calpurnius having been so before him, and having in fact been a deacon in the Church, while his grandfather Potitus was a priest. As Mr. Coote says, 'In a family where it was possible that two generations could thus take holy orders, we must at least add thereto another generation of Christian belief.'<sup>1</sup> His whole tenor shows that not only his family but the community to which he belonged was Christian. When he set out as an evangelist it was to go among the pagan Irish, and not among his own people, and not a hint is dropped that they were other than Christians, negative evidence which in such a case is of no mean value. So much we learn from the life of St. Patrick about North Britain. In his epistle to Coroticus, the famous hero of the Cymraeg, who drove the Irish out of North Wales, and afterwards apparently attacked them at home, St. Patrick inveighs against him for attacking Christians when himself a Christian; and if we are to credit the rhetorical statements of Gildas, it is clear that a century later the Christian faith was not only sown, but firmly established among the Britons. It would seem probable that it had been so for a long period. Lastly, the statement of Prosper that Palladius was sent not

<sup>1</sup> *Romans in Britain*, 416.

to the heathens but to those believing, in Ireland, proves that Christianity had penetrated and received adherents beyond St. George's Channel at the commencement of the fifth century. Since its adoption by Constantine and the Imperial Court, it had become no doubt very fashionable, and under such auspices it is no wonder that it spread rapidly, not only in the metropolis but among the provincial Romans as well.

It is a very remarkable fact, proving how late the general introduction of Christianity into Britain was, that scarcely any remains showing a Christian influence have been found here. The late Mr. Thomas Wright, who was an extreme sceptic on the question of the existence of Christianity in Roman Britain, would not allow, in fact, that there is more than one relic of the kind extant, namely, the famous mosaic pavement found in a Roman villa at Framton, in Dorsetshire, in which the Christian monogram (the X and P) is found in the midst of figures and emblems, all of which are purely pagan.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wright explains this curious juxtaposition, on the theory that the owner of the villa was 'some wealthy proprietor who possessed a taste for literature and philosophy, and with a tolerant spirit surrounded himself with the memorials of all systems, and adopted *inter alia* from some of the imperial coins the emblem of Christ Jesus, who in his eyes might stand on the same footing as Socrates or Pythagoras.'<sup>2</sup> This pavement was published by Lysons. He published a similar one, found at Horkstow, in Lincolnshire, with Greek crosses at each angle, similarly interspersed with pagan symbols. A third pavement, with a cross on it, was found at Harpole, in Northamptonshire, but, as has been well said, the Cross is not necessarily a Christian symbol, and occurs in very widely separated countries as a purely secular ornament. The Christian monogram has occurred on two tiles found in 1864 in a villa at Chedworth, in Gloucestershire, and on pieces of pottery found at Padstow, in Cornwall, and on each of six compartments of a silver cup found near Corbridge-on-the-Tyne, in 1736.<sup>3</sup> Christian symbols have been met with in a fragment

<sup>1</sup> *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, 299.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 39.

of Samian ware found at Catterick, in Yorkshire. But as Samian ware was not an English manufacture, and was imported, this does not perhaps prove much, nor does the occurrence in Britain of certain coins of Decentius and Magnentius, with the monogram between the alpha and the omega on their reverses. More definitely native is an inscription, described as obscure, but plainly Christian, carved upon the upper part of a Roman pagan monument now let into the Norman tower of the church of St. Mary-le-Wigford, at Lincoln, which seems to have been once headed with the symbol of the cross.<sup>1</sup>

At Caerleon is a sepulchral stone upon which remains part of a 'rough scoring,' resembling the rude representation of a palm branch, which generally denotes the tomb of a Roman Christian.<sup>2</sup> This, with two other monuments, about whose Christian character there are very grave doubts, are mentioned by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs as having been found respectively at Caerleon, at Barming in Kent, and at Bath. In 1675 a brick was discovered in Mark Lane, in London, which is figured in Leland's 'Collectanea,' and which is supposed to represent Samson and the foxes. Mr. Roach Smith has figured two bronze pins, for fastening the dress, with cruciform heads, while a third has on it a medal, with the figure looking at a cross. A figure with a glory round its head was found at Ilkley in Yorkshire; and two metal stamps, with the monogram and the name 'Syagrius' with the word 'spes' on one, and the alpha and omega on the other, have been found in the Thames.<sup>3</sup> This completes the list of objects which are probably of Christian origin that have been discovered in Britain. The list is indeed a scanty one, and it is a very remarkable fact that, according to Dr. Bruce, there is not a single Christian monument among the hundreds of heathen ones found along the wall, although some found there have no distinctive pagan symbols, and Horsley, with all his diligence, did not in his day know of one from any part of Britain.<sup>4</sup> We must, however, remem-

<sup>1</sup> Lee's *Isca Silurum*, iii. Haddan and Stubbs, 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 40.

ber that it was probably not till the time of Constantine that Christianity really made much headway in the island, and that the number of native monuments dating from the period succeeding that Emperor is comparatively very scanty. We must make much allowance also for the intensely conservative character of funereal monuments. As Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs say the letters D.M. were retained for several centuries, irrespective of their meaning, and we cannot walk through a modern cemetery without meeting at every step with pagan symbols.

We have still left for consideration more substantial traces of early British Christianity. These may be divided into two classes: accounts of buildings, which have now disappeared, such as the early churches already referred to as having been built over the remains of St. Alban at Verulam, and in commemoration of Julius and Aaron at Caerleon, and the church of Wattles at Glastonbury. Bede tells us that the church of St. Martin at Canterbury, was built while the Romans were still in the island. As the church was dedicated to St. Martin, its dedication must have been subsequent to the year 400 A.D. Bede further tells us that St. Augustine restored at Canterbury the early church which the Romans had formerly built there, and dedicated it to the Saviour. This church of St. Saviour became the kernel of the subsequent cathedral. William of Malmesbury, speaking of the time of Bishop Egwin at the beginning of the eighth century, described the site of his monastery at Evesham, as 'ecclesiolam ab antiquo habentem ex opera forsitan Britan-norum.'<sup>1</sup> Of churches whose remains still exist, and which may with some probability be traced back to Roman times, there is the well-known one at Dover, whose walls are interspersed with Roman bricks and tiles, and which is in close contact with the famous *pharos*, or lighthouse, which still subsists. It is certainly one of the very oldest churches in

<sup>1</sup> Lee's *Isca Silurum*, iii. Haddan and Stubbs, 38. Mr. Watkins writes me that recent excavations have proved this church to be built upon a Roman foundation, if the upper part of the walls is not also Roman.

Britain, and, if not dating from Roman times, reaches back to the earliest Saxon period. Inside the Roman camp at Richborough is a ruin in the form of a cross on a platform of Roman work, which is probably the base of a chapel. At Reculver, in Kent, is an old chapel built with Roman bricks, and which, according to Mr. Roach Smith, was a Christian church in very early Saxon times, and probably also under the Romans. At Lyminge, in Kent, is a very early church, of which Mr. Jenkins has written an account. He says: 'There is a great probability that a Christian church existed on the site of the present church in the Romish period. The Roman foundations discoverable at the south-east angle of the chancel, and under that part of the wall of the churchyard corresponding with it, and which, together with the remarkable half-arch that intervenes, mark the site of the *aquilonalis porticus*; the title of basilica already given to it in the seventh century, and the fact that a Roman legion was regularly stationed at Lympne, gives probability.' And again: 'The Roman wall which was discovered while these sheets were in the press has since been exposed, so far as it can be traced, disclosing the foundations of an apsidal building having an outer and an inner wall; the modern church resting upon a portion of the former. . . . Remains of Roman work abound in the present church.'<sup>1</sup> Lastly, there is a church at Brixworth, in Northamptonshire, which, according to Rickman, was originally a Roman basilica, probably of the fourth or fifth century, of which the outer walls have been destroyed and the arches walled up. The aisles are divided by cross-walls, as if they had been originally separated into small chambers or chapels. The western porch has Roman arches or doorways on the north, south, and west sides; the Anglo-Saxon belfry has been built upon this Roman porch, probably in the eleventh century. The original Roman apse at the east end has been destroyed, in order to carry out a larger church. Hugo Candidus tells us there was a Saxon church at Brixworth before the end of the seventh century;<sup>2</sup> and


<sup>1</sup> Jenkins, *Hist. of Ch. of Lyminge*, 1869. Haddan and Stubbs, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, 38, 39.

some of the antiquaries who recently visited this church with the Archæological Association were of opinion that portions of the primitive church still remain.

We have now gone over the field which we set out to explore—a field which has a singularly romantic interest, and the main conclusion we would draw is that evidence of Christianity in Britain commences with the third century; that it is extremely misty and dim until we reach the time of Constantine; but after his conversion there is every reason to believe that it was widely spread over Great Britain, and that it had a well-defined hierarchy and position. On the other hand, it would seem that until the advent of St. Augustine it was only the church of a small minority. The aristocrats who lived in the larger Roman towns, and the more important officials of the Government, were doubtless Christians; but the rustics, no doubt, in the main remained attached to their old faith and traditions. With the advent of St. Augustine a new departure was taken, and the Saxons, like their near relatives the Franks, became ardent converts to the new faith. A parallel movement prevailed among the Celts, both of Wales and Ireland, the churches of St. David and St. Patrick. It is beyond question that here, as on the Continent of Europe, the so-called Barbarian invasion was the greatest and most potent ally which Christianity ever met with; and that the religion of the Cross would probably have been overwhelmed in the general decay of culture of manners and of faith which overtook the Roman world in the end of the fourth century, but for the vigorous enemies who assailed it from the north—those enemies who not only became devoted Christians, but whose orthodoxy was the main prop of the Catholic faith in its terrible struggle with Arianism and its brood of heresies.

Since writing the above paper, my friend Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, than whom I could not quote a better authority, has referred me to the following additional objects with Christian symbols upon them :—

I. Two silver rings found at Fifehead Neville in Dorsetshire in a Roman villa. One has simply the  on it, the

other has the same symbol beneath the figure of a dove encircled with branches of olive.

II. On a tessellated pavement, found at Halstock in the same county in 1818, there were in the angles circular spaces containing helmeted heads, each bearing a double cross.

III. A small cruciform ornament was found in Castlefield, Manchester, with Roman remains, and one exactly similar was also found with Roman remains by Mr. Clayton in his excavations on the Roman Wall.

Mr. Watkin says he has often seen the inscription at St. Mary-le-Wigford, above the Roman carving, and that it is clearly mediæval, as is the Mark Lane brick, several similar to which have been found in Cambridgeshire. Mr. Watkin also suspects the figure with a glory round its head, from Ilkley, to be mediæval.



## THE SAXON INVASION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON OUR CHARACTER AS A RACE.

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### I. BEFORE THE INVASION.

IN the following paper the term 'Ancient Briton' is applied to the whole of the mixed races which inhabited this island prior to the Teutonic irruption. They consisted of the two Celtic families (the Gaels and the Brythons, or Cymri), and the pre-Celtic races. On the divisions of the latter anthropology has not yet decidedly pronounced, though it seems probable that they were not homogeneous. In any case the principal pre-Celtic type at present discovered, which may generically be termed Iberian, and which appears to correspond with that of the original neolithic inhabitants, was dark, small, and short, the average stature being only sixty-three inches. The *pure* Celt, on the other hand, was extremely tall, the average stature being sixty-nine inches, and that of the Saxon sixty-seven. This agrees with the statements of Polybius, Strabo, and Ammianus Marcellinus as to the height of the Celt, and at the same time accounts for the Britons being spoken of as *short* and thick-set. For in this country the Celt was found mixed to a large extent with the short pre-Celtic race or races. The people, therefore, that the Saxons had to contend with were, on an average, of shorter stature than themselves. They varied, no doubt, in different parts of the country, but probably the purest Iberian blood, and consequently the shortest stature, would be at the bottom of the social scale. If any pure Celtic blood remained in the

country it would be chiefly in the east; and it is to the permanence of this, rather than to the superior stature of the Angles over the rest of the invaders, that I attribute the height of the present inhabitants of the Anglian districts. The prevailing physiognomy of East Anglia also supports this view; the tall stature, brown hair, grey eye, and arched nose of the pure Celt is not uncommon there. The Welsh, again, who are confessedly the most perfect type of the 'Ancient Briton' or *Ibero-Celt*, are short, their average stature being only 66·66 inches. The prevailing type prior to the Saxon invasion was, therefore, the mixed Ibero-Celtic, with an occasional preponderance of one or other element according to circumstances.

The term 'Saxon' is also used to include all the invading tribes, whether Angles, Saxons, Frisians, or Jutes.

## 2. DURING THE INVASION.

Among the numerous and conflicting accounts of this occurrence given by different historians, it is almost impossible to trace the exact sequence of events and their relative importance. Most modern writers have fallen into error by following not only the statements, but also the opinions, of one or more of the Chroniclers to the exclusion of all the others. Hume, for instance, endorses the assertion of Gildas that the Britons were an indolent and luxurious race.<sup>1</sup> The fallacy of this, as well as of the enervation theory of Bishop Stubbs,<sup>2</sup> is demonstrable by facts which all the old writers agree upon. For while the other nations of Europe (not excepting the Roman Empire itself) collapsed at once before the different tribes of Teutonic invaders, the Britons alone offered a lengthened resistance, opposing them at every point, and this at a great disadvantage, owing to the recent withdrawal of the Roman legionaries and the loss of so many of their native youths who had been employed in the Roman military service. It was only after a hundred years' constant

<sup>1</sup> 'An indolent and slothful race.'—*Gildas*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Enervated and demoralised by long dependence.'—*Stubbs, Select Charters*.

warfare (from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century) that the Saxons obtained a permanent ascendancy over any large proportion of the country; <sup>1</sup> while it was eight hundred years before the whole country was conquered. For Wales continued independent and was not annexed to the English crown till the reign of Edward I., long after the Saxons themselves had been in their turn subdued by the Norman-French. To speak of such a race as indolent, slothful, enervated, and demoralised is to fly in the face of facts.

Times of disturbance are not favourable to the search for deep-seated causes. When national calamities occur the sufferers pursue a simpler method—

Let us our lives, our souls,  
Our debts, our careful wives,  
Our children and our sins, lay on the king.<sup>2</sup>

This 'hard condition, twin-born with greatness' fell to the lot of Vortigern.<sup>3</sup> He has been handed down by the British writers to eternal infamy, branded as traitor, murderer, usurper, tyrant, betrayer of his country. If a ruler is to receive credit for successful movements, he must also accept blame for disaster. Vortigern being Pendragon at the time of the Saxon alliance could expect no lenient judgment from his subjects when the result proved so disastrous. But whoever may have been responsible for first employing the Saxons as mercenaries, the act was neither unusual nor discreditable. It only shows that in this particular instance the British leaders under-estimated their own resources, and perhaps relied too implicitly on the constancy of temporary allies.

But the causes of the indignation of the Britons against Vortigern lay deeper than this. An insurrection had broken out among some of the tribes in the interior of the country,

<sup>1</sup> Even as late as the year 836 A.D., Ethelwerd speaks of the conflict with the Britons as still going on. Book III. chap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Henry V.*, act iv. scene i.

<sup>3</sup> Called Gurthrigern by Gildas, Vurthern by Ethelwerd. Vide Appendix, Myths and Heroes.

assisted by the Welsh.<sup>1</sup> To assist in stamping out this rebellion, Vortigern employed the Saxon mercenaries, who had disposed of the Picts and Scots, and wanted further employment. Indeed it has been assumed by some that it was for this object—viz., to oppose the faction of Ambrosius—that he first invoked their assistance, employing the Picts and Scots as a blind to his subjects. In any case, it was this that raised against him the violent animosity of the Britons and their historians.<sup>2</sup> The Ibero-Celtic race in this country has always been highly emotional; capable of intense devotion and of intense hatred; easily moved either to good or evil by anything that appeals to the feelings and the imagination, with difficulty acted on through the medium of the intellect. (It is this which has made Ireland so fruitful a field for agitators, and so difficult to govern, from the time of her conquest by Henry II. to the present day; and, from what we know of her previous history, not less so in the days of her independence.) Roused to the highest fury by visionary wrongs, often patient and forbearing under real hardships, it needed an admixture of Teutonic blood to bring about that stability of character without which Great Britain would never have been a power in the world.

That Vortigern, a Christian king, should employ heathen soldiers to fight against his own Christian fellow-countrymen, was just one of those forms of tyranny calculated to rouse their spirit, and nothing could restore their allegiance to one

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Pearson, *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*, pp. 88, 89; cf. Nennius, *History of the Britons*, §§ 31, 38, and Whitaker, *History of Manchester*, Book II. chap. ii. Though commonly spoken of as a faction fight, this may be considered a rebellion, as Vortigern was at this time the recognised ruler. It is evident from a comparison of these authorities, that Ambrosius, though of partial Roman descent, took the side of the country tribes, while Vortigern, assisted by the Saxons, led the Romanised Britons. Even Green (who rarely agrees with Pearson in anything) appears to support this view, for he mentions a league between the *un*-Romanised Britons and the Picts.

<sup>2</sup> It is not improbable that he subsequently played still more treacherously into the hands of the Saxons by revealing a British conspiracy against them. The language of the triads and the bards favours this view. *Vide* Craik and Macfarlane, *Pictorial History of England*, vol. i. pp. 141, 142; Herbert, *Britannia after the Romans*, pp. 46, 47.

who had thus acted. From this point all the misfortunes of the country are laid to his charge. His previous shortcomings, including even the murder of his predecessor recorded by one of the Chroniclers,<sup>1</sup> do not call for special condemnation; but when he trusted to an arm of flesh, and entered into an unholy alliance with the 'fierce and impious Saxons, a race hateful both to God and man,'<sup>2</sup> the pent-up stream of indignation breaks forth, and every imaginable crime is imputed to him. Whatever views we may hold as to the historical accuracy of the Chronicles, we see by these denunciations that their writers were fully imbued with that intolerant spirit so common among the early Christians, and not altogether unknown to some of later times.

We need not dwell on the immediate causes of the rupture between Vortigern and the Saxons, nor the various fables that have been invented to account for it. The entire scheme was no doubt planned by the master-mind of Hengist,<sup>3</sup> who knew how to choose his time when the unpopularity of Vortigern was at its height.

The task of restoring confidence and loyalty in the minds of the Britons towards their rulers, and of training them up to discipline and unity of action, was reserved for Ambrosius Aurelianus and Arthur.<sup>4</sup> And it is to the valour and genius of these two leaders, particularly the latter, that I attribute the fact that Britain was not overrun as so many other nations had been by the Teutonic tribes; that its conquest took more than a hundred years, and was not complete till the ranks of the Britons had been decimated by pestilence;<sup>5</sup> that Wales and Cornwall remained permanently British, and withstood the Teutonic influence; and that so much Ibero-Celtic blood (as is shown by the shape of our skulls) still flows in the veins of the English people.

This view is consistent with the character of the race, and

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *British History*, Book VI. chap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Gildas.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Appendix, Myths and Heroes.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society for 1883*, p. 246.

at the same time accounts for many of the conflicting statements. Disunited and half-hearted under a ruler who had wounded their national and religious feelings, and whom they mistrusted, they became united under leaders who could lead, and who, while maintaining discipline, had studied their character, their prejudices, and even their superstitions.<sup>1</sup> Thus, though their defence was unsuccessful in the long run, owing to the above causes and the constant influx of fresh troops of invaders, the Britons retrieved their reputation, and made their influence felt on succeeding ages.

### 3. AFTER THE INVASION.

We now come to the more important question of the permanent effect of this struggle on the two opposing races which were engaged in it.

There is an impression, which has found its way into many popular histories, and has therefore been largely received by non-critical readers, that the Saxons virtually exterminated the inhabitants of this country, with the exception of those who succeeded in escaping to Wales and Cornwall, abolished Christianity, and set up throughout the land the worship of Woden and Thor. Mr. Green carries this view to its legitimate conclusion, and, in tracing the early history of our race, leaves this country and goes over to Germany to find our ancestors.<sup>2</sup> This, in itself, almost amounts to a *reductio ad*

<sup>1</sup> As an instance of this it is recorded by Nennius (*History of the Britons*, § 50) that at the battle of Gurnion Arthur carried on his shoulders the image of the Virgin Mary, and that to this his soldiers attributed the victory. This account, though usually set aside as fiction, suggests precisely what a leading mind in a superstitious age would be likely to do. It shows that he knew how to turn to his own advantage the superstitions of his followers. The power of an army depends more upon the mental condition of its members than on any other cause. A fixed idea of supernatural intervention, if duly impressed upon them, has a double effect. It convinces them of the justice of their cause and of the impossibility of failure. Their action then is united, and they become almost invincible. History abounds in instances of the kind, and commanders have not been slow to avail themselves of such means of success. On the other hand, if he was himself tinged with superstition, it was in common with many of the greatest commanders before and since.

<sup>2</sup> *Short History of the English People*.

*absurdum* of the theory in question, which has no true basis either in history or in anthropology.

Equally untenable is the view held by Mr. Hyde Clarke, that the pure Celts alone were exterminated or driven to Wales and Cornwall, while the pre-Celtic population remained.<sup>1</sup> For the Welsh are, as a race, the shortest people in the United Kingdom,<sup>2</sup> while the inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern Counties have not only the highest stature, but present many of the facial characters of the pure Celtic type. The Celts were the tallest race that ever inhabited this country; if, therefore, they had been driven into Wales while the short Iberians remained, we should expect to find the highest average stature in the west and the lowest towards the north and east, whereas the contrary is actually the case. Even the presence of a certain number of undoubted Celts in the northern counties of Wales is not sufficient to raise the average standard of that country.

The believers in extermination of course make short work of the Roman influence. Green would lead us to believe that the effects of the Roman invasion, including even the *memory* of the Christian Church of Roman Britain, were swept away by the Saxons.<sup>3</sup> But this highly imaginary view of the case disappears when we recognise the fact that in the nineteenth century traces of this influence are still to be found. This is expressed by William Cowper in words which are living proofs of the statement they contain:—

Thy language at this distant moment shows  
How much the country to the conqueror owes ;  
Expressive, energetic, and refined,  
It sparkles with the gems he left behind.<sup>4</sup>

Modes of thought may remain, though buildings are levelled to the ground. And the former are not the less im-

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society for 1883*, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> 'Report of the Anthropometric Committee of the British Association for 1883,' pp. 262, 263. Charles Roberts, F.R.C.S., 'Education and Body-Growth,' *Journal of Education* for December 1883.

<sup>3</sup> *Short History of the English People*, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> 'Expostulation.'



portant because they are less obvious to casual observation. We still use words and idioms of Latin origin which were not employed by classical writers, and which we may therefore infer to have been derived from the colloquial Latin spoken by the Romans when they lived among us, and incorporated, together with certain Celtic words, when the grammatical construction of our language was changed, and Cymric gave place to Anglo-Saxon. And it is said that some parts of our judicial system may be traced to Roman influence.<sup>1</sup>

Others have attempted to extenuate the Saxon influence, and consign Hengist and Horsa to the region of mythology,<sup>2</sup> a fate which has befallen nearly all historical characters, from Adam to Napoleon Buonaparte.<sup>3</sup> But it is utterly impossible for the historian to ignore either the Britons, the Romans or the Saxons, for they have all left permanent marks behind them. The truth, no doubt, lies somewhere between the extreme views. That the Saxons ultimately became masters of the country is beyond dispute; but the position of the middle and lower classes of the Britons is often lost sight of. The invaders had attained their ends when they had seized the land, and killed or put to flight its former proprietors. They would not be likely to turn out the peasants, whom they found as slaves ready to hand, and accustomed to the soil, and to whom a change of masters might not be undesirable. It is incredible that they should take possession of the land without taking also the live stock, of which the British peasant would form a most important part. Thus the bulk of the population may have remained of the same race as before, although the aristocracy, the chiefs of clans and their immediate followers, had escaped to Wales and Cornwall, and given place to the Saxons. And even in the time of Alfred we find the lower orders spoken of in terms

<sup>1</sup> Pearson (p. 56) says: 'These [the Roman] influences can hardly be over-rated, nor can it be doubted that many of them remained, and even gathered strength, when all seemed to be swept away.'

<sup>2</sup> Sir F. Palgrave; Kemble, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*; Macaulay, *History of England*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Appendix, Myths and Heroes.

which seemed to imply that they were looked upon as a separate race both by the Danes and Saxons.

Analogy points to the same conclusion. No country in the world has been so often conquered, and been ruled by so many different dynasties, as Egypt. Yet through all these invasions the race continues, and the fellah of to-day is, according to Professor Sayce and others, almost identical with the fellah of the early Scripture narratives. Even the Israelites, who looked upon extermination as a religious duty, were never able fully to carry out their intentions, for we find throughout their history constant references to the aboriginal tribes, generally as slaves, but not unfrequently rising to positions of wealth and fame.<sup>1</sup>

Another example is furnished by the history of China. Here, as was pointed out in Sir Richard Temple's paper, the race remained the same in spite of innumerable conquests; the influence of the *conquered* race being in the long run always predominant, as in the case of Greece when conquered by Rome.<sup>2</sup>

It is, in fact, only when the invaders of a country are immeasurably in advance of the invaded that the danger of extermination appears to exist. And even then, if the surrounding conditions are favourable, the conquered race adopts the civilisation of its conquerors, and mixes with them.

In this country the mixture of the two races has never been sufficient entirely to obliterate the early types. The two races still exist side by side; the Saxon, tall, stout, and fair-haired; the Briton, shorter, darker, broad-chested and muscular.<sup>3</sup> And it is sometimes possible to detect in districts,

<sup>1</sup> As Araunah and Uriah.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society for 1883*, p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Some of the old poets were accurate observers of physiognomy. The following lines from 'Argentile and Curan,' by William Warner (1558 to 1609), describe the heroine, who, as the daughter of the King of Deira, would be a pure Anglo-Saxon:—

'Her stature comely, tall; her gate  
Well graced; and her wit  
To marvell at, not meddle with,  
As matchless I omit.

in families, and in individuals, which type predominates. It is not a matter of amateur observation only, but of ascertained statistics, that in this country the classes lowest in the social scale have the shortest stature; and if we examine the characteristics of the type still called the British workman, we may often find a close approximation to those of the Ancient Briton, while the middle and upper classes more nearly resemble the Saxon, modified by Celtic and Ibero-Celtic influence on the one side, and Norman on the other.

These facts, taken alone, would seem to indicate that the purity of the Iberian type increases as we descend the social scale, and that the Celtic and the Saxon influence alike only affected the upper strata. But it has been shown<sup>1</sup> that the food of the lower orders and the nature of their employment have a certain effect in diminishing their stature. And yet, in spite of these depressing causes, their stature is much higher than that of the pure Iberian type, as shown by the most recent observations.<sup>2</sup> It is probable, therefore, that the latter is now rarely found unmixed, and that the Celtic influence made itself extensively felt in all classes of society, though in varying degrees. And this view is still further borne out by the evidence of craniology.

The physical feature by which allied races can be distinguished from one another with the greatest certainty is the lati-

A globe-like head, a *gold-like hair*,  
A forehead smooth, and *his*,  
An *even nose*; on either side  
Did shine a *grayish eye*:  
Two *rosie cheeks*, *round ruddy lips*,  
White just set teeth within;  
A *mouth in meane*; and underneath  
A *round and dimpled chin*.'

Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 198.

This description coincides very closely with that of the most recent anthropological researches.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Roberts, F.R.C.S., 'Education and Body-Growth,' *Journal of Education* for December 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Vide 'Report of the Committee of the British Association for 1883, appointed for the purpose of defining the facial characteristics of the Races and Principal Crosses in the British Isles,' p. 306 of the Association's Report.

tudinal index of the skull.<sup>1</sup> It is the most constant, and the least liable to deviation by external circumstances. The colour of the skin, the pigment of the hair and eyes, may no doubt be affected to some extent by climatic conditions, while the stature may be diminished by a deficiency of food, air, and exercise; but this will not apply to the *relative* breadth of the skull. It is a somewhat remarkable fact in statistics that, although in measuring individual indices we rarely find two alike, a number of measurements will give an average which is pretty constant for each race. And this is the case as a rule if only a small number (twenty to fifty) are taken.<sup>2</sup> Thus, on referring to Davis's collection,<sup>3</sup> I find the average index of eleven Ancient British skulls to be 77·54, and that of nineteen Anglo-Saxon, 75·26. These figures are fairly representative; for when the number of Ancient British skulls amounts by further additions to 146, the average index is still 77,<sup>4</sup> while that of the Anglo-Saxon is fixed by the most recent observations at 75.<sup>5</sup> But the average index of the modern English skull is also estimated at 77.<sup>6</sup> In this respect, therefore, the race now inhabiting this country resembles the Ancient Briton more than the Saxon. To test this further I examined the heads of twenty-five English men and women now living, belonging almost entirely to the professional and upper classes. The average index of these undoubtedly modern skulls was 78·76.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the proportion which the breadth of the skull at its widest part bears to its length at the longest. The length being arbitrarily fixed at 100, the index may vary in different races from 62 to 90 or more.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Flower (*Lectures on the Principal Types of the Human Species*) states, as the result of his experience in craniological measurements, that an average of twenty skulls of any race will give a series of indices that has rarely to be modified by observations on a larger number.

<sup>3</sup> *Thesaurus Craniorum*. By Barnard Davis, F.R.S.

<sup>4</sup> Topinard's *Anthropology*. Translated by Bartley, p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> Park Harrison.

<sup>6</sup> Topinard's *Anthropology*, p. 241.

<sup>7</sup> These were collected with the assistance of Mr. Henry Harvey, the sculptor, who is accustomed to taking minute and accurate measurements for artistic purposes. They are to some extent representative, as all belong to different families, and are all, as far as I can ascertain, of English or Lowland Scotch extraction. The condition of the soft parts may make a slight variation in the measurements,

Not only does this figure approach more nearly to the British than to the Saxon index, but it is almost identical with that of the pure Celt. The British skulls belong to a mixture of two races, the Iberian and the Celtic. The index of the former was about 72, that of the latter 78 or 79. These figures, therefore, prove two things. First, that the Celtic race came to this country in very large numbers, giving to the Ibero-Celtic race at the time of the Saxon invasion a character more Celtic than Iberian. Secondly, that although all the several races have been permanent to a greater or less extent, the predominating type in the present day is not Iberian, not Anglo-Saxon, but Celtic. Had the proportion of Anglo-Saxon blood among us been as great as is generally supposed, we should expect to find a general narrowing of the skull as compared with the pre-Saxon races, whereas the index is substantially the same, and would even appear, in certain classes, to be greater. I by no means intend to deny the vast influence, both mental and physical, of the Saxons, or that they came over in very large numbers. Indeed, it is quite possible that they may at one period have predominated, and the Celtic race reasserted itself by a greater prolificness. But it can hardly be an accidental coincidence that the average index of the present day should resemble that of races we know to have lived in the country, while that of an intermediate race fails to correspond.

The colour of the hair and eyes of the three races are thus distinguished by the Committee<sup>1</sup> :—

	Iberian	Celtic	Saxon
HAIR . .	Very dark, crisp, curling	Light brown, slightly waved	Light, limp
EYES . .	Dark	Blue-grey, sunk	Blue, prominent

In 459 men belonging to the 2nd Royal Surrey Militia,

but there is no doubt that they are approximately correct, and are further interesting as being taken from a class whose skulls are not usually available for cranio-logical measurements.

<sup>1</sup> 'Report of the Committee of the British Association for 1883.'

89 per cent. of whom were pure English, examined by Colonel Lane-Fox,<sup>1</sup> these features were apportioned as follows :—

HAIR.—Brown, 253; dark brown, 138; light brown, 57; light, 7; red, 2; dark, 2.

EYES.—Grey, 219; brown, 132; blue, 89; dark blue, 15; light blue, 3; dark brown, 1.

Here the hair gives the first place to the Ibero-Celt with an excess of the Celtic element, the eyes also point to the Celtic as the prevailing type. In these observations allowance must be made for a certain number of Iberians who were excluded from the ranks on account of their short stature.<sup>2</sup>

The other facial characteristics of the Ancient Briton, the high-bridged projecting nose, long thin lips, prominent brows and chin of the Celt, and the long straight nose, thick lips, and small chin of the Iberian are not confined to Wales and Cornwall, but are still to be seen, in varying proportions, in all parts of the country. I am therefore of opinion that our present fellow-countrymen, in spite of successive invasions by Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman, still consist to a very large extent of the same race as that which Julius Cæsar found here nearly two thousand years ago, and that none of the races which have lived in these islands have ever been entirely exterminated. In the words of Professor Rhys, 'Skulls are harder than consonants, and races lurk when languages slink away. The lineal descendants of the neolithic aborigines are ever among us, possibly even those of a still earlier race.'<sup>3</sup>

The abiding influence of the British and Saxon races respectively may also be traced in our language, in the foundation of some of our laws, and in our hereditary mental and moral qualities.

The grammatical construction of our language is, no

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Anthropological Institute for 1877*, p. 447.

<sup>2</sup> My own observations on the colour of the hair and eyes have, at present, given a larger proportion both of the Saxon and Iberian types. The Anthropometric Committee of the British Association gives 33·7 per cent. of dark eyes for the whole of England. The colour of the hair is not sufficiently differentiated to form any conclusion on this subject. *Vide* Report of the Association for 1883, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 272.

doubt, purely Anglo-Saxon. Still it appears probable that many Celtic words have survived the change, and become incorporated into it.<sup>1</sup> Change of language, however, does not prove change of race. The Normans, although the finest and most powerful race of mediæval times, changed their language *twice*: first to French when they settled in Normandy, and secondly to English when they had established themselves here. When two races occupying one country find it necessary to speak the same language, it is not always that of the most highly cultured which is adopted. On the contrary, the result may be determined inversely as the relative mental capacity, the best linguists losing their language first. Tenacity of a race to one language proves nothing more than their inability to learn another. The Saxons and the French have been very tenacious of their languages, for both have been bad linguists.<sup>2</sup> This is one reason why French is spoken in every country in Europe, and English in most of the countries in the world. The Normans in this country ultimately abandoned French for English, yet they were the governing body, and were also undoubtedly a superior race of men in all respects to those they had conquered. Their architecture is the most convincing and permanent proof of this, but their superiority in other respects is hardly less marked. The Britons also changed their language in favour of Anglo-Saxon; for though they were the conquered race, they were decidedly in

<sup>1</sup> These unfortunate words have met with strange vicissitudes. Whitaker (*History of Manchester*) gives their number at 3,000, besides local appellations, and Davies (on the Races of Lancashire) also considers them to be very numerous. On the other hand, most of the lexicographers, beginning, I believe, with Johnson (*vide* Johnson, Latham, Richardson, and others), evince such a determined hostility to all Celtic words, that when they come in contact with one of undoubtedly Celtic origin, they suggest that it must have been purloined by the Romans, taken to Rome, and then sent back to us through Latin sources. Professor Skeat (*Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*), who may be considered a fair representative of the modern school of philologists, takes a middle course, and, undeterred by the fetters of Johnsonian tradition, introduces about 250. But the number of Celtic words in our language does not in any way affect the main question.

<sup>2</sup> No one who has lived in Paris will doubt this fact so far as the French are concerned.



advance of their conquerors in civilisation. This is evident on comparing the writings of the bards of the sixth century, Llywarch, Aneirin, Taliessin, and Merlin, with the Saxon literature of the same period.<sup>1</sup> Even in the time of Caswallon, when we first come in contact with the Britons, they had long emerged from barbarism, and they had since that time been in constant contact with Roman civilisation for three centuries and a half. Gibbon<sup>2</sup> goes so far as to speak of the Saxons as 'illiterate Pagans.' This is an expression which could not by any perversion of facts be applied to the Britons. No one who has examined the vast theological and philosophical system of the Druids can have any doubt of their intellectual power.<sup>3</sup> And now they had embraced Christianity, while the Saxons were still worshippers of Thor and Woden.

From the resemblance of the Anglo-Saxon to the old British code, it would appear that the invaders adopted some of the laws they found existing here. The system of pecuniary fines, in particular, has continued without interruption from the time of the Britons, though of course greatly modified. With them, as with the Saxons, it extended in some cases to murder. The introduction of trial by jury is claimed for the Saxon. It was, no doubt, an important safeguard at a time when legal training was in a less advanced state. Whether it is of the same value in the present day may be called in question.

Of our mental qualities we appear to derive from the Saxon our practical common sense, our business capacity, our power of adapting ourselves to circumstances, and what we may call in general terms the faculty of colonisation,

<sup>1</sup> Vide Hiersart de la Villemarqué, *Les Bardes Bretons : Poèmes du VI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, and the other works referred to on p. 191. The great Saxon writers Bede and Caedmon did not live till the following century.

<sup>2</sup> *Decline and Fall*, 8vo ed., 1788, vol. vi. chap. xxxviii. p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> On this subject see *The Druids and their Religion*, by John Eliot Howard, F.R.S., 'Transactions of the Victoria Institute for 1880,' particularly on the origin of the Cymric language and of the megalithic temples (p. 115). Among other things, the Druids could calculate eclipses with remarkable accuracy; the structure of Stonehenge also shows their knowledge of astronomy. See also the other works on Druidism referred to on p. 190.

thus including much that has tended to make our nation what it is. The Saxon cast of mind was essentially practical. Their religion was more practical and less spiritual than that of the Britons, and when they embraced Christianity, it was the tangible form taught at Rome that commended itself to them instead of the more mystic form prevalent among the Britons. From them, therefore, we derive our observance of religion in its more practical aspect, our love of truth and justice, and the practice of morality. For the Teutonic races stand higher in their morals and in the respect paid to the female sex than any nation of antiquity.<sup>1</sup>

They were, however, accomplished drinkers. We must, therefore, lay to their charge much of that tendency to inebriation which is constantly latent in our nation, and which ever and anon assumes an active form in a certain number of individuals. But I am not prepared to say that even this tendency may not have had an effect in establishing our national character, and keeping up a certain mental and physical standard. It has recently been pointed out that, in spite of the evil effects of alcohol on individuals, its effect on races has always been beneficial; the alcohol-bred races of the world being almost invariably physically, morally, and intellectually superior to those among whom abstinence is the rule.<sup>2</sup> This appears to be further borne out by the fact that those races lowest in the scale of civilisation are extremely intolerant of alcohol. The Tasmanians, the lowest of all, drank nothing but water. Their acquaintance with stimulants was rapidly followed by their disappearance from the face of the earth. In a similar manner the Indians of the United States and other savage tribes have been almost exterminated by the introduction of spirits among them. On the other hand, the intellectual power of Athens has never been equalled, and the Athenians were notorious drunkards.<sup>3</sup> These facts

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. chap. ix. pp. 367, 368, 369. (*German Chastity*.)

<sup>2</sup> William Roberts, M.D., F.R.S., 'Address on Collective Investigation of Disease,' *British Medical Journal* for November 3, 1883, p. 861.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, ed. Gillies, 1823, Book III. chap. x. p. 403, note 1 (ὁ Κίων τὰ καπηλεία ἐκάλει "τὰ Ἀττικὰ φειδίτια.")—Oxford edition, 1833, p. 185.

appear to point to the strange conclusion that alcohol has been one of the civilising agencies in the history of the world ; that, at any rate, intolerance of it is usually associated with a low, tolerance with a high, state of civilisation. Shakespeare must have had some conception of this, for Caliban, his least civilised character, has never tasted spirit, while Fálstaff, his most brilliant wit, is a large consumer of sack.

The steady, patient perseverance and love of truth necessary for scientific observation are qualities which we may consider Saxon. It has been shown that the Fellows of the Royal Society, who may be taken as a type, are two inches taller than the average Englishman.<sup>1</sup> This, of course, might be due to pure Celtic influence, but the type of face is more frequently Saxon. The features of Charles Darwin, the greatest observer of the present century, were more Saxon than Celtic.

The respective characters of the two races are well exemplified by the qualities attributed to their two great heroes. Both, of course, are brave soldiers ; but while Alfred employs his intervals of peace in works of charity, laborious literary translations, and practical politics, Arthur has no resource but to keep up the spirit of his soldiers by a succession of heroic speeches and mock battles. Alfred's were the practical, Arthur's the romantic, virtues.

Some of our utilitarian tendencies may be traced to the same hereditary influence ; whether for good or evil must continue to be a matter of dispute. The speculating builders who level to the ground ancient monuments and historical mansions to erect in their place a terrace of modern dwelling-houses have no doubt contributed greatly in raising London and other large towns to their present position. But this tendency, however useful, however necessary, will always be looked upon with aversion by those whose antiquarian tastes predominate. Its origin is so purely Teutonic that it is characterised in our language by a word embodying the

<sup>1</sup> Charles Roberts, F.R.C.S., 'Education and Body-Growth,' *Journal of Education* for December 1883.

name of one of the Teutonic tribes. The word *Vandalism* appears to show that at one time the Teutons had attained a special reputation for venturing to lay hands on the relics of antiquity.

From the Britons, on the other hand, we inherit the more emotional aspects of our religion.<sup>1</sup> Their influence has manifested itself in those Puritan tendencies which have had so decided an effect on the history of our Church. For that great revival of non-æsthetic religion, commenced by Wycliffe and culminating in the Puritan ascendancy, was the result of a vast upheaval of suppressed emotion which had been accumulating since the seventh century, when the early British Church was placed under the ban of Rome. The special character of this early Church resulted in a great measure from the influence of Druidism on the minds of the Britons. For the religion of the Druids was undoubtedly monotheistic, and its character spiritual, imaginary, non-æsthetic; involved in mysterious rites, no doubt, but devoid of tangible images.<sup>2</sup> Its teachers appear to have paid more attention to religious emotion, or what we should now call faith, than to the practical exercise of virtue. Without expressing any theological opinion on the doctrine of justification by faith alone, it may be said that, historically speaking, its extensive acceptance in this country was partly due to the hereditary results of Druidical fatalistic teaching.

The accusation of offering human sacrifices can, perhaps, hardly be explained away. But, if true, it is not Christianity, with its holocausts of innocent human victims, that can afford to throw the first stone. Nor is there any difference in the principle; it is originally, in both cases, the propitiation of a supposed offended Deity. Indeed, we can

<sup>1</sup> 'Cette race [the Celtic] veut l'infini : elle en a soif.'—*Renan*.

<sup>2</sup> For the general tenor of the Druidical theology see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. 'Druidism,' by J. Macdonald, and authors referred to by him, especially Keynaud (*L'Esprit de la Gaule*), who maintains that the Druids were the first to teach clearly the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Also Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles*, pp. 430-434; Gardner, *Faiths of the World*, art. 'Druidism;' John Eliot Howard, *The Druids and their Religion*, and authors quoted.

hardly wish the accusation to be false, for this would involve the sad but inevitable conclusion that the influence of Druidism and that of Christianity can only be compared, in this important respect, to the disadvantage of the latter. But in actual practice we do not consider the burning of heretics to be an essential part of the Christian faith; and, unless we are dead to all sense of justice, we must make the same allowance for the Druids, and distinguish between Druidism and the cruelties which have been committed in its name.

The higher phases of our poetic inspiration and imagination must also be traced to the influence of the Britons, while our independent spirit is seen in that ardent love of liberty which so constantly breaks out in their writings. In the bards of the sixth century<sup>1</sup> (particularly Aneirin) we find an intensity, a fire, a depth of poetic feeling, which is rarely equalled; while their melancholy and revengeful spirit shows the despair which possessed them at being conquered. They thus contain the germs of English poetry in its later development, for which they have also frequently supplied the subject. For some of our greatest poets, including the present Poet Laureate, have gone to this source for inspiration. This intensity of feeling was reproduced in a different form in the deep religious feelings of the Puritans, and the writings of Milton and Bunyan.

Closely connected with this is the art of eloquence, in which the Britons and their bards excelled, but in which the Saxons were proverbially deficient.<sup>2</sup> Most of our famous popular preachers in the present day have been below the average height, and thus presumably Ibero-Celtic; the

<sup>1</sup> De la Villemarqué, *Poèmes des Bardes Bretons du VI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*; Owen, *Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen*; Williams Ab Ithel, *Y Gododin*; Stephens, 'Literature of the Kymry' and 'Taliessin' in *Archæologia Cambrensis*; Warton, *History of English Poetry*; Sharon Turner, *Vindication of the Welsh Bards*; Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*; Herbert, *Cyclops Christianus*; W. O. Pughes, *Cambrian Biography*; Owen Jones, *Archæology of Wales, &c.*; *Quarterly Review* for September 1852, p. 293; *Ibid.* for April 1876, pp. 299, 300; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. 'Celtic Literature,' by Professor Sullivan, and authors quoted by him.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi. chap. xxxviii. p. 400, note 159 (Giraldus Cambrensis).

exceptions being of the extremely tall, thin Celtic type. Samuel Wilberforce and Charles Spurgeon are examples of the former, Edward Irving of the latter. The stage presents examples hardly less marked.<sup>1</sup>

But we must also lay to the charge of the Britons our hereditary tendencies to mendacity and licentiousness. In both these respects they presented a marked contrast to the Saxons. The mendacity of the Britons was notorious, and their Chronicles are discarded by many chiefly on this account.<sup>2</sup> Cæsar's charge of polyandry cannot be dealt with in the space at our disposal. It must have been an exaggeration, but has hardly yet been disproved. It has probably excited special attention on account of the character of the accuser. It is, indeed, an edifying spectacle to see Julius Cæsar, the most licentious man of a licentious age and nation, posing as a censor of morals. Whatever the Britons were before, we may be certain that they did not improve much in this respect under Roman influence.

In conclusion, whatever may have been the actual proportion of the Teutonic element introduced by the Saxon invasion, there can be no doubt that this event was the most important that has occurred in our history. Although, as I have ventured to point out, the Britons were at this time in a high state of civilisation, the Saxons possessed the greater potentiality of future progress. The former had arrived at a condition not dissimilar to that of the Chinese, and would, if left alone, have experienced a similar stagnation. However great their culture, it was one-sided; the Saxons restored the mental balance. Their mental activity acting on the contemplative Britons brought about that combination of thought and action which has made the England of to-day, and from which has been evolved that comprehensive English intellect of which Shakespeare is the type.

In one division of the United Kingdom the wail of the conquered race may still be heard. But the student of

<sup>1</sup> Henry Irving and J. L. Toole.

<sup>2</sup> Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 292, note.

history can trace its bearings in the unfailing light of past events. For it has been heard in all the other divisions successively, and in each has continued for many centuries. But in each it has died out at last, and has invariably been followed by the same result. Sooner or later mental assimilation has taken place, and the Saxon has left a permanent impression on the national character.

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### APPENDIX.

#### MYTHS AND HEROES.

*Vortigern, Ambrosius Aurelianus, Arthur, Hengist and Horsa.*

IN view of the custom now so prevalent among philologists to reduce to myths many historical or traditional characters, particularly those belonging to the earlier races of this country, it is incumbent on those who venture to express a different opinion to give their reasons for doing so. I dispute none of the facts brought forward by the philologists on this point ; I only take exception to what I have the misfortune to consider a strained interpretation of them, and contend that it is the rule in history, and even in tradition, for names to have a personal origin, individuals representing them having really existed, though posthumous praise may have raised them to a position they did not occupy in life. The extraordinary fitness of some names is a point which, however it may be explained, cannot be denied. For example, the word *stone* has been used from very early times to symbolise a vast mental and moral influence on the progress of the world. In the vision of Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel ii. 34, 35, 44, 45) it represents the reforming power of the Church ; it has the same meaning in the Gospels (Matthew xvi. 18) and other parts of Scripture. This being so, it is certainly remarkable that in four countries of the world there have arisen men of enormous influence bearing this name : in Palestine, Peter the Apostle ; in France, Peter the Hermit ; in Russia, Peter the Czar ; and in England, Gladstone. And all these (even the Apostle) received their names before their influence was exerted. John, again, is a name peculiarly adapted to an ardent religious writer, or preacher, and we need only mention the names of St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, John Scotus, John Wycliffe, John Milton, John Bunyan, and John Wesley to observe the coincidence. These men were all pre-



eminent in religious influence and religious fervour. The possession of an appropriate name, therefore, does not prove its possessor to have been a myth. Indeed, the names Hengist and Horsa (male and female horse) do not seem especially appropriate for maritime adventurers, and can only be explained on heraldic principles; male and female shark would have been more consistent.<sup>1</sup> Nor do the indignant denunciations against Vortigern favour the mythical theory. Such deep feelings in the British writers appear to suggest a personal object.

If this process of mythification were impartially carried out, most of the names in history might be explained away. Even that of Napoleon has been shown to be thus liable to extermination.<sup>2</sup> The *N* being, of course, a dialectic redundancy, *Apoleon* is simply a form of *Apollo*.<sup>3</sup> The European conquests of Napoleon are thus reduced to figurative expressions for the increasing influence of the rising sun, which, though spreading over the continent of Europe, was unable to penetrate the cloudy atmosphere of Britain. In a similar manner *Wellington* might be a supply of water coming from the Emerald Isle to counteract the destroying effects of Apollo's influence; *Gladstone* would represent the *happy influence* of cosmical forces in bringing about an amelioration in the condition of the oppressed classes; while *D'Israeli* would be a symbol of the increasing power and influence of the Israelitish race in this country in the nineteenth century.

The movements of the Britons during the latter part of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries, their advance in military tactics during this period, their rapid recovery from a state of comparative torpor and inaction to one of vigour and activity, and the undoubted length of their contest with the Saxons, point to the probable existence of some leader of conspicuous talent and ability whom we may consider as representing more or less accurately the Arthur of tradition. If this admission is considered a sign of extreme credulity, I am content to err with Gibbon, who distinctly endorses the account given by Nennius.<sup>4</sup> In this account there is nothing improbable, nor

<sup>1</sup> There is said to be some archaeological evidence pointing to the personality of Hengist; *vide* Pearson, *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*, p. 87; Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 96, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Baring-Gould, *Myths of the Middle Ages*.

<sup>3</sup> This name adapts itself still better to the form Ἀπόλλεια = Destruction, or Ἀπολλών = the Destroyer.

<sup>4</sup> 'By a natural, though *unjust*, reverse of the public opinion, the severity of the present age is inclined to question the *existence* of Arthur.'—Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi. chap. xxxviii. p. 392.

is there in that of the sixth-century bards, who allude to him in plain and simple terms, and not in the hyperbolic strains of the later writers. It is by the bards and other writers of the *twelfth* century that he is elevated into the impossible hero of romance. Much importance was formerly attached to the fact that Arthur's name is not mentioned by Gildas. But in the present day it is the fashion to deny also the existence of Vortigern and Ambrosius, both of whom are mentioned by Gildas. This omission, therefore, which admits of a ready solution, has now no bearing on the question ; for, if the *positive* evidence of Gildas is disallowed, the negative must be equally valueless.

The philological evidence in favour of the personality of Arthur rests not so much on the large number of places which bear his name as on the fact that they are occasionally found in parts of Scotland beyond the Cymric territory, in that of the Gael.<sup>1</sup> Here they could not have been planted by *pure* tradition, for the Arthurian legend is undoubtedly Cymric, and here tradition would only have planted the names of the Gaelic heroes, Fingal, Ossian, and Diarmait. The inference is, therefore, that they originated in some historical occurrence.

Steering between the Scylla of fiction and the Charybdis of incredulity, we may consider the following to bear some relation to the facts of the case :—

That Arthur was not the son of Uther, nor of Ambrosius Aurelianus, but was hereditary king of a single tribe, probably among the Cymri of Strathclyde or Cumberland, and was elected to the chief command on account of his conspicuous ability (whether by the name of Pendragon, Dux Bellorum, Dux Britanniarum, or Gwledig is immaterial) ; that most of his operations were carried on in the North and beyond the Border, though he must, at least on one occasion, have led to battle his fellow-countrymen in the West ; and that during the Northern campaign he had succeeded in restoring to a great extent the courage and discipline of the British troops. To this fact must be attributed the unexpected defeat of the Saxons at Mount Badon, which appears to have given them a temporary check.

The date of his death is uncertain ; it is variously stated at from A.D. 520 to A.D. 542. But in any case it is certain that the invaders did not obtain a permanent footing in Northumbria, the principal

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, art. 'Arthur,' and authors there referred to, particularly Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*.

seat of his operations, during his lifetime.<sup>1</sup> Its invasion by Ida, which was its first actual subjugation, did not occur till A.D. 547, five years after the last of these dates, and nearly a hundred years after Hengist first landed on the shores of Britain.

<sup>1</sup> Even Hume, the first chapter of whose History appears to be written chiefly with the object of disparaging the Britons, admits that in Northumbria the Saxons met with an '*obstinate resistance*.'

## THE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH BEFORE THE CONQUEST, AND THE EFFECT ON THEM OF THE NORMAN INVASION.

BY THE REV. ROBINSON THORNTON, D.D., F.R.Hist.S.

(*Read January 1884.*)

I MUST preface this paper with a remark which, in the case of most, if not all, of my hearers will be, I presume, needless : but which is far from needless for those whose studies have not been in the early history of this country. The remark is this, that it is erroneous to draw in our historical consciousness a strong black line at the event of the 14th or 22nd October 1066.<sup>1</sup>

The battle of Senlac (not Hastings, for the battle-field was, as all know, some nine miles from that town) did not cause an utter and entire change in the habits and manners of the conquered. It may be fairly classed, as Sir Edward Creasy classes it, among the decisive battles of the world, as regards its ultimate effect upon history : but it had no such immediate result. There are those who seem to fancy that the subjects of Harold II. were a set of savages ; and that civilisation was wrought upon them in a few months by the victory of William the Norman and the death of Harold : the death, I say, for I presume we can hardly credit the tale of Giraldus Cambrensis, that he escaped from Senlac and lived at Chester for many years as a pious hermit. The story is in a well-known form--the same or a similar notion was entertained of Roderic the Goth before him, and Frederick Barbarossa after him ; and Suetonius tells us that something of the sort was believed about Nero. The Saxon Chronicle,

<sup>1</sup> Some authorities put it xi. Kal. Nov., others on S. Callistus' day, Oct. 14.

Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, William of Malmesbury, and William of Poitou (King William's chaplain), all distinctly assert that he was killed, though the two latter differ about the disposal of his body, Malmesbury asserting that it was, and Poitou that it was not, given to his mother. But England under William continued to be much what it was under Harold and Edward. The charge of savagery is an absurd one. It is recklessly brought, however. Our British forefathers in Cæsar's time are often spoken of as savages. No doubt they had not Roman manners, or Roman vices. They painted their bodies, it is true—but I am credibly informed that the practice is not entirely unknown in Britain at the present day. They lived in regular communities, and inhabited regularly constructed cities; they had a religion and settled form of government, and a military system; they carried on commercial intercourse with their relatives on the other side of the Channel; they had a fair idea of what we call diplomacy, as well as power enough to give Cæsar a little trouble, and to deter the Romans from venturing to invade them again for a century. And if the Britons under Caswallon were scarcely to be termed savages, much less can the English under the dynasty of Cerdic be spoken of by that name. On the contrary, they possessed all the marks and requisites of civilisation: religion (though this may to some appear unnecessary), government, laws, commerce, arts, literature. And, indeed, I am not quite sure whether Eadweard the Confessor, Eadmund of the Iron-side, and even poor Ethelred the Ill-advised, do not bear comparison to advantage with Eadweard's cousin, Duke William, and the Duke's children, Robert the Norman and William the Red—I don't say Henry the Scholar, though the Confessor was probably a still better scholar than he; nor yet William's step-daughter Gundreda de Warenne, whether she and her mother Matilda did, or, as is now pretty nearly certain, didn't, work the Bayeux tapestry.

Many, however, of those who do not suppose England to have been civilised at the point of the Norman sword, have

perhaps some lurking scepticism as to the literature of our forefathers. To them I may venture to say something about the language and the writings we call Anglo-Saxon. One is obliged to use this word, though one does so rather under protest. The language is *Ænglisc*, English: just as much English as the language we are now speaking, which differs from it much as the Greek of Athens now differs from the Greek of Perikles, or the Turkish of Stamboul does from that of Orthogrul and Osman. But we call the language Anglo-Saxon, because the later literary form of the language of the West-Saxons seemed to supersede the Anglian dialects of the North and East, and was supposed to result from a blending together of the speech of Anglians and Saxons. Under protest, I use the incorrect word to signify the *Ænglisc* of *Ælfred*, the literary language down to the end of the eleventh century. It is remarkable that the Anglians gave the name to the nation and the language, though the ruling dynasty was Saxon. On this I shall have occasion to remark again.

The use of the term Anglo-Saxon must not deceive us into the belief that the language of England even in the tenth century was homogeneous. As three tribes, speaking Low German languages, contributed to the making of England, the language of the country was threefold: and the threefold division may still be traced in our country dialects. The Jutish settlement in Kent seems to have had little permanent effect. It is mentioned as an integral part of the invading body in the Saxon Chronicle an. 449. *Ða com[on] þa menn of þrim mægðum Germanie, of Eald-Seaxum, of Anglum, of Jotum. Of Jotum comon Cantware, and Wihtware, þæt is seo mægð þe nu eardað on Wihte, and þæt cynn on West-Seaxum þe man gyt het Jutna-cynn.* These Jutes were probably a partly Scandinavian race. Their name is identical with Goth; Jutland and Gothland mean the same, and are pronounced alike in Swedish: at least Göteborg = Gothenburg.

It would be beyond my limits to inquire whether the Jötunheim of the Edda, where Thor got so taken in at

Utgard-Loki, was a Jutish land or no, or if the *eótenas* of *Ænglisc* fairy tale were Goths translated. Whatever the Jutes were, their influence on England was nil. The three races that, as I have said, did modify her languages, were the Anglians, the Frisians, and the Saxons: and their provinces may be considered as corresponding roughly with the Roman divisions of *Maxima Cæsariensis*, the Eastern half of *Flavia Cæsariensis*, and *Britannia Secunda*. No doubt Anglians, as the Chronicle says, occupied East Anglia, Mid-Anglia, Mercia, and all Northumbria. But the paragraph was certainly written by a Northumbrian, who grouped the Angles and Frisians together. East Anglia, with part of Mid-Anglia, and of North Mercia too, was really Frisian. And to this day the Anglian of the North, the Frisian of the East, and the Saxon of the South are pretty clearly distinguishable: though the purer Anglian of Northumbria was afterwards largely modified by the Danish element in Yorkshire and part of Lincolnshire. There are those who believe that the Kymric of the British people exerted a great influence on the Anglian and Saxon, if not on the Frisian element in the language. No doubt it had some effect: not much more, I fancy, than Maori has upon the English of New Zealand, and Zulu and the other South African forms of speech on that of the Cape Settlements. I do not suppose that the Britons modified in any appreciable degree the immigrants' mode of thinking, which is after all the only way in which language can be seriously affected. A few contributions were made to the vocabulary, occupying pretty much the same place as the Arabic contributions to the vocabulary of Spain.

It was the pre-eminence of the great Anglian Bretwaldas, Redwald, Eadwin, Oswald, and Oswiu, and of Paulinus, who is the founder of the Church of North England, as Theodore (and not Augustin) is of that of South England, that caused the nation, then tending to unity, to get the name of Anglian. The nation was not actually united in one till the time of Ecgbryht (827), or, more strictly speaking, of his great-great-grandson Æthelstan, in 925. The ruling dynasty



being—as it is now—the family of Cerdic of Wessex, the Court language was—and is now—Saxon and not Anglian. But it was called *Ænglisc* for all that. What the difference is now between Anglian and Saxon may be seen by a comparison of the English of Edinburgh with that of London: not the street language of London, which is East-Anglian, and not Saxon, but the Court language which we are speaking. What the difference was may be seen in two versions of a hymn composed by Venerable Bede in his last hours upon earth. Cuthbert, the disciple of Bæda, in a letter to his fellow disciple Cuthwin, preserved by Simeon of Durham,<sup>1</sup> says of his dying master:—‘*Multa de scripturis sacris, et in nostra quoque lingua, hoc est Anglicana, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus, nonnulla dixit: nam et tunc hoc dictum Anglico sermone componens multum compunctus aiebat*’:—and then follows in the MS. a Saxon version of the dictum, the Northumbrian original of which was discovered by Mr. Kemble in a MS. at St. Gall. I place them side by side:—

For þam neodfere  
 nænig wyrðeð  
 þonces snottra  
 þonne him þearf sy  
 to gehiggenne  
 ær his heonan-gange  
 hwæt his gasta  
 godes oððe yfles  
 æfter deaðe heonan  
 demed wurðe.

Fore þe neidfærae  
 nænig uuiurþit  
 þoc-snottura  
 þan him þarf sie  
 to ymbhycganne  
 ær his hionongae  
 huæt his gaste  
 godæs æþþa yflæs  
 æfter deoþdæge  
 doemid uuicorþæ.

Now these so-called Anglo-Saxon people or peoples, as they had their so-called Anglo-Saxon language or languages, had also a literature. By literature I suppose we mean the record of men's knowledge, thoughts, experience, opinions, imaginations: and the literature of the Anglo-Saxons is the collection of written documents showing what our forefathers before the Conquest thought, knew, witnessed, or imagined. There are such written documents, interesting and valuable;

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Eccl. Dun. Ch. xv.

comprising works on religion and history, and poetry, sometimes of a high order, simple but by no means rude, though free and unrestrained. Their alphabet they got from the Christian missionaries of the sixth century and later; whether they received any knowledge of writing from the Britons whom they overcame and supplanted, who had themselves been educated by the Romans, or whether they learnt anything from kindred German tribes who possessed the art of writing—as Ulfilas certainly did in the fourth century—we do not know. The existing MSS. of Anglo-Saxon exhibit to us a neat imitation of the character used by the Roman monastics, not much like that used by the Mæse-Goths of Ulfilas' diocese, which is Greek rather than Roman, but bearing a great resemblance to the modification of the same character employed by the Irish ecclesiastics. The Roman letters are supplemented by borrowing from the alphabet used in the North, and termed Runic. Two at least, the þ (thorn, thurs, or thuss) and the w (wen or wyn) are from this source.

As far as we are able to ascertain, the earliest writings of a literary character appeared in Northumbria. The comparative quiet resulting there from a strong government would naturally enough lead to the development of literature. Men write when they have time and leisure and quiet to think; otherwise they do not write at all, or write without thinking; and we know that in either case no permanent result follows. So we see the literature of the Chaucer period take its rise in the strong reign of Edward III., while the Wars of the Roses and the troubles of the Reformation deferred the next literary period to the time of Elizabeth. In Northumbria Edwin and Paulinus were without doubt patrons and supporters of literary men, as they certainly were of architects, if we may trust what Bæda tells us<sup>1</sup> about the commencement of the Cathedral at York. The chief writings were poetical; but Bæda (or, as he is usually called, the Venerable Bede), a monk of Jarrow, near Newcastle, applied himself to a translation of

<sup>1</sup> ii. 14.

the Scriptures, and the last work he did on earth before his death in 735 was the completion of the fifth chapter of S. John. His dialect was, of course, the Anglian of Northumbria, and we can only regret that he was not allowed to finish the New Testament, and that his translation has not come down to us. All his extant works are in Latin, but there were others in the vernacular, and I have already quoted a passage which speaks of his familiar acquaintance with popular poetry. The anarchy that succeeded the death of Ethelred of Northumbria in 795, and the inroads of the Danes, put a stop to the cultivation of literature in the North and destroyed nearly all its records. A revival took place under King Ælfred in the latter part of the next century, and from his time down to the end of the eleventh century we have a series of prose and verse writers using almost exclusively the West Saxon dialect, whose works have been preserved in MS., and have been published in more modern times by scholars from the time of Archbishop Parker (1560) to the present day. After the twelfth century the language becomes irregular and broken, and exhibits the phenomena of a period of transition, from the language of Ælfred to that of Chaucer.

Our Anglo-Saxon literature is by no means contracted. Of some early forms of Germanic we have only a few specimens. The whole of the Gothic language which we possess is comprised in a translation (not perfect) of the Gospels and S. Paul's Epistles, with a portion (about 6 pages) of an exposition of S. John's Gospel, with a few other minute fragments. The old High German literature is more copious; the Frankish 'Krist' of Ottfried (d. 870), the Muspilli, and the Ludwigslied, also of the ninth century, may be specially referred to for comparison; the lay of the Nibelungs (Nibelunge-Not), as we have it, dates from the twelfth century, the era of the Minnesinger, Walter von der Vogelweide, Wolfram von Eschenbacher, Hartmann von Aue. In Low German we have the Heliand, a Harmony of the Gospels similar to Ottfried's and about the same date, set forth in a sacred poem or set

of poems in the dialect termed Old Saxon, which exhibits a remarkable similarity to the Anglo-Saxon.

I propose now to give a brief account of some of the most important works that have come down to us in Anglo-Saxon.

I. *Prose*.—1. An extremely interesting book, part of which is perhaps the earliest relic we have of Anglo-Saxon prose, is the history commonly known as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It is a set of annals of English history, professing to begin from the birth of Christ, but practically commencing from the landing of Hengist and Horsa (that is to say, the Germanic immigration into Kent which is termed in legend the landing of Hengist and Horsa), in 449, and going down to the death of King Stephen in 1154. It is written by different authors, and contains a few metrical pieces. There are reasons for assigning it in the main to the abbey of Medeshamsted, now Peterborough, but as the MSS. vary much, they may be attributed to various monasteries, especially to Winchester. There is a story, but unsupported, that the Chronicle down to 891 was composed by Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the request of King Ælfred, and was continued by contemporary annalists to the accession of Henry II., where it ends. It may be so far true that the portion of it relating to the life of Ælfred is from Plegmund's pen. The language is sometimes rude and inartistic, and towards the conclusion becomes broken and irregular, like that of the other writers of the transition period; but the chronicle of the times of Ælfred is in a clear and spirited style, worthy of an Archbishop of Canterbury.

2. Versions of portions of the Scriptures were made by various divines. I have already spoken of Bæda's, now lost. Aldhelm translated the Psalter (710), and Egbert the Gospels (720); the complete version of the Gospels we now possess dates probably from the tenth century.

3. King Ælfred the Great produced, or at all events edited, a number of translations from Latin into his own tongue, the Anglo-Saxon of Wessex. Orosius's compendious

History of the World is one. Into this he has inserted two interesting pieces of his own, the accounts given him by two Northern sailors, Ohthere and Wulfstan, of their voyages in the Baltic. Ælfred translated also Bæda's Ecclesiastical History, St. Gregory on the Pastoral Care, and Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, part of which is poetical.

4. An ecclesiastic named Ælfric has left us a Colloquy or dialogue between a master and his pupils on learning Latin, and a large number of religious works—homilies, commentaries, and biographies—written in a simple style, and in a very pure English. They belong to the end of the tenth century, but who the author was is not by any means certain. He calls himself Ælfric 'abbod,' so that he has been identified by William of Malmesbury with Ælfric, Abbot of Malmesbury, made Bishop of Crediton by Edgar. This Ælfric, however, died about 980, so he could hardly have written a charge, as our author did, for Bishop Wulfstan in 1003. Others have supposed him to be none other than Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died 1006. Others make him Ælfric Bata, Archbishop of York, who died 1052. He edited the Colloquy already referred to; but is expressly styled the disciple of Ælfric. Our Ælfric never calls himself bishop, only abbot, monk, or mass-priest. He was certainly living in 1005, and still abbot then. Ælfric is a very common Saxon name, and it seems most probable that our author was neither Bishop of Crediton nor Archbishop of York nor Canterbury, but a simple monk, educated by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, placed by him as a monk in the abbey of Cerne (in Dorsetshire), and afterwards made its abbot. He did not confine himself to prose, for we have from the pen of an Abbot Ælfric, no doubt the same, two metrical Introductions to the Old and New Testaments respectively.

5. Though I have by no means exhausted the list of Anglo-Saxon prose works, I will only mention one more—the collection of laws known as the Domas (dooms) or laws of King Cnut. They are interesting, and of value, not only as telling us something of the manners and modes of thought

of the period, but as affording a tolerably fair specimen of the Anglo-Saxon tongue in its later period (1016-1035).

II. *Poetry*.—Before entering on this subject it may be not amiss to say a few words about the structure of Anglo-Saxon verse. Our idea of verse is that the words should be arranged so as to fall into divisions containing a fixed number of syllables with a regularly recurring accent; and we further expect that these divisions or lines should be so adjusted that every two (or more) of them, either two by two, or alternately, or according to some fixed law, should terminate with the same sound; and this concord of terminations we call by the name of rhyme.

Let me remark, by the way, that we are guilty of an absurd mis-spelling as regards this word. It is simply the word *rím*, number; we retain it in our word 'rim,' which is *ríma*, edge, a word derived from *rím*, in its sense of a number or magnitude reckoned up and completed; and our rhyme is only the *edge* or *border* of a finished couplet. We write it 'rhyme,' because it was supposed to be derived from the Greek *ρυθμός*, which is rhythm, not rhyme; cadence, not similarity of terminal sound.

The commonest form of Anglo-Saxon verse is one in which there is no rhyme, nor any fixed number of syllables. The verse runs in couplets, containing four accentuated syllables, with any number unaccentuated; and instead of consonances at the end of the lines, the connection is maintained by alliteration. Three accentuated syllables, two in the first half of the couplet and one in the second—or at least one in each half—must begin with the same letter. If we look at Spenser's archaic poetry, verse in which he seems to strive after the archaic model, we shall find that besides the rhyme, which he has got from Italian examples and from Chaucer's imitation of the French, he continually gives us alliteration besides, after the fashion of the Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic; e.g. F. Q. I. x. 34:—

Wherein his weaker wandering steps to guyde  
An auncient Matron she to her does call,

Whose sober lookes her *wisedome well* descryde :  
 Her *name* was Mercy ; well *knowne* over-all  
 To *be* both gracious and eke liberall :  
 To whom the carefull charge of him she gave,  
 To leade aright that he should never fall  
 In all his *waies* through this *wide* *worldes* *wave* :  
 That Mercy in the end his righteous soule might save.

Even to the present time we are fond of alliteration. Many a popular or satirical expression has owed its renown to a happy use of it ; and our poetry is by no means unconscious of its effect.

The alliterative and accentual verse continued to be used after the eleventh century. For instance, we find it most distinctly in 'Piers Plowman,' that is, the poem by Robert Langland or William Langley, about 1362, called 'the Vision of William concerning Peter the Ploughman' :—

I *loked* on my *left* halfe,  
 as the *lady* me taught,  
 and was *ware* of a *woman*  
*wortheli* yclothed : . . .  
 hire *robe* was ful *riche*  
 of *red* scarlet engreyned,  
 with *ribanes* of *red* gold  
 and of *riche* stones.

a *loveli* *ladi* of *lere*,  
 in *linnen* yclothed,  
 came down from a *castel*  
 and called me *faire*,  
 and seide, *Sone*, slepestow ?  
*sestow* this poeple,  
 how *busi* they *ben*  
*abouten* the mase ?

1. The earliest and the grandest of our Anglo-Saxon poems is entitled 'Scyldingis,' or, to use the name by which it is more generally known, 'Beowulf.' There is a controversy about the meaning of this name : is it the bee-wolf, *i.e.* the bear ; or is it a contraction of beado-wulf, *i.e.* battle-wolf ? I certainly think the latter. It is evidently a paraphrase of a Norse



saga, written in heathen times, and rendered freely into Anglo-Saxon by a Christian poet, who on occasion introduces his religious sentiments, though the date of events is long prior to the introduction of Christianity into the North by S. Anschar, in 850. The first scene is laid in North Jutland. The dominions of Hrothgar, king of the country, are infested by a monster called Grendel, who actually enters his palace of Heorot, and carries off his thanes to devour in his den at the bottom of a lake. Beówulf, nephew of Hygelac, king of West Gothland (the opposite coast of Sweden), comes to Jutland with a party of fifteen warriors to relieve Hrothgar of this pest. The Swedish warrior is hospitably received, and awaits the coming of the monster. It soon appears, and seizes and devours a sleeping thane. Beówulf attacks it, and inflicts a mortal injury. The mother of Grendel (a sort of Sycorax) comes to Heorot to avenge her son, and carries off and slays Hrothgar's old counsellor Æschere. But Beówulf follows, plunges into the terrible lake, and succeeds in vanquishing the foe. He returns to Heorot, receives Hrothgar's thanks, and then goes back to his uncle Hygelac, on whose death, followed by that of his successor Heardred, he ascends the throne of West Gothland. This country being infested by a poisonous dragon, Beówulf goes out to destroy the creature. He succeeds in killing it, and so wins the treasure which it guarded, but is himself overpowered by the virulence of its venom; and the forty-third and last division, or canto, of the poem concludes with his funeral.

This poem is considered by its editor, Mr. Thorpe, to be the oldest heroic poem in any Germanic tongue. It is extremely amusing to find its editor, Thorkelin, in the edition he published at Copenhagen in 1815, calling it '*De Danorum Rebus Gestis Secul. III. et IV. Poema Danicum Dialecto Anglo-Saxonica.*' But the learned Iclander did right good service to Northern verse. Its author is unknown. The language in which it has come to us belongs apparently to the tenth century.

2. Next to the Beówulf I must put the Scriptural poems

known by the name of Cædmon. This name belongs to a personage of whom we read in Bæda's Ecclesiastical History.<sup>1</sup> He was a pious lay brother in the abbey of Streoneshalh or Whitby, under St. Hilda, and was, till beyond middle age, quite unmusical and unpoetical. In a vision, however, he received the gift of sacred poesy, and exercised it to the end of his days. But there is little reason to ascribe to him the poems which go by his name. They are metrical paraphrases of Scripture, possibly versions of Old-Saxon poems like the Heliand, and executed at different times by different writers. Some portions are dignified and highly poetical, some are obscure and scarcely intelligible. They conduct us from the Creation to the Ascension; but, as we possess them, are much fuller on the Old than on the New Testament.

As these poems were discovered about Milton's time, there is some reason to believe that the great author of 'Paradise Lost' was indebted to them. He goes over the same ground with them, in the revolt of the angels and the creation of the world, and there is more than a casual resemblance between the later and the earlier English poet.

3. An interesting MS. is preserved in Exeter Cathedral Library, described as 'An mycel Englisc boc be gehwylcum þingum on leoðwisan geworht,' *i.e.*, a collection of miscellaneous poems. Most of these are attributable, at least in their present form, to a Northumbrian poet named Cynewulf, dating in the ninth century, and not to be identified with the Cynewulf who was Abbot of Peterborough in A.D. 1015. The chief of these are the Phoenix, a beautifully written poem on the Phoenix as an allegory; the Andreas, or martyrdom of St. Andrew; the Elene, or finding of the Cross; the Scop (minstrel) or 'Glee-man's Tale,' a curious piece of history and geography; the Wanderer. Even though we may think with Mr. Earle that a long series of bards may have contributed to the beauty of these poems, they have come in true poetic form to us from Cynewulf's hand and heart, and praise is due to him.

<sup>1</sup> B. iv. § 24.

4. I must not pass over two more poems which we possess in an imperfect state, but which give us a high idea of the poetic powers of our forefathers. The first is entitled *Judith*. It is a noble poem on the Apocryphal history of Judith. Its author is unknown: it probably belongs to the old Northumbrian literature of the eighth century, and has reached us in a version or recension in the S. dialect of a century later. The other fragment is a spirited account, by a contemporary poet, of the Battle of Maldon, in 993, between the ealdorman Byrhtnoð, with his followers, and the Danes under Anláf, resulting in the death of Byrhtnoð.

5. We find in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle a number of poetic pieces of different lengths, containing remarks on events, or on persons whose death is recorded. These pieces are not without their merit. They are generally looked upon as interpolations. Probably they were not composed by the chronicler himself: they may, however, have been intentionally inserted by him. One of them, the poem on Æthelstan's victory over the Irish and Northmen under Anláf at Brananburh (Ford, near Bromridge, in Northumberland), contains a passage<sup>1</sup> so similar to one in *Judith*<sup>2</sup> that one cannot but fancy that, if they are not from the same hand, one author is indebted to the other.

The Norman Conquest, though, as I have said, we must not exaggerate its historical and political result, certainly did lead to great changes in the literature and language of England. It did not instantaneously civilise a set of savages; in fact, it rather had the opposite tendency at first, by driving to a wild life many who had previously been quiet and orderly citizens. But by it an impulse was given to an alteration in the character of the English language, to which the Norman predilections of the Confessor had already been leading.

The Normans were themselves a race who had changed their language. The Latin-speaking tribes of Gaul imposed their Latin language upon their Frankish rulers, though they adopted ultimately their name of French. We are apt to

<sup>1</sup> L. 120-130.

<sup>2</sup> § xi. l. 205.

forget that Clovis, or Louis, Clothaire, Chilperic, and Charlemagne himself, were really Germans, named Hlodwig, Hludher, Hilpreich, and Karl; that they spoke German, not French, and that the transmutation of their names into the form in which we know them best was the work of their Latin-speaking subjects. Just so Hrolf the Ganger (d. 931), whose name was altered to Rollo, or Rou, was a Norwegian, the son of Jarl Rögnwald. He became lord of the territory afterwards called Normandy by the cession of Charles the Simple in 912. His followers and successors were compelled to drop their Norse, and to adopt the Latin tongue of their subjects, the langue d'oïl, as it was called, to distinguish it from the Southern langue d'oc. It got flavoured with some Norse and Germanic words, but on the whole maintained itself so well as to be the mother of—or to have had a large share in the parentage of—modern French. The *real* descendant of the old Norman French is the peculiar dialect spoken by the people in the Channel Islands. The Normans, though they adopted the tongue of the people of Neustria, seem to have resorted for poetry to the South. In fact, it was in the South, the land of the softer langue d'oc (or Provençal), that the troubadour with his virelais, and sirvientes, and all the accompaniments of the 'joyous science,' chiefly flourished. The Norman chieftains and ecclesiastics who occupied England refused to use the Germanic speech of their subjects, forgetting that they were themselves Germans by race; and the alliterative and accentuated metre, which the Anglo-Saxon had derived from the Fornyrðalag (narrative verse) of their own Norse forefathers,<sup>1</sup> they rejected as barbarous, throwing their poetry into the regular and rhyming metres of the poets of the South. But the old Germanic tongue had a persistent vitality. In the fashionable scientific language of the present day, it survived in the struggle for existence. 'The Normans,' says Robert of Gloucester (1300),

<sup>1</sup> The Icelandic verse is of three kinds: Fornyrðalag, which has alliteration with accent only; Drottkvæði (heroic verse), which has alliteration, rhyme, and metre; and Runhende (popular), which has rhyme and alliteration.

' could speak none but their own speech, and spake French as they did at home, and taught their children so . . . unless a man know French, they think little of him. But the low men hold to English and to their own speech still.' And he adds, with a curious incorrectness, as it proved eventually,

Ich wene þer ne beþ in al þe world [*al. be man in world*] contryes none,

þat ne holdeþ to her owe [*al. kunde*] speche bote Engeland one.

A number of people learnt both languages, and we had in this country for a time the curious phenomenon which still presents itself in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium, Bohemia, and other countries, that of bilingualism, or the use indifferently of two languages by the inhabitants of the country. Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French were spoken and understood by the same persons, just as English and Welsh, English and Gaelic, French and Flemish, German and Czech, in the countries I have named. Still, as I have said, the old tongue prevailed. But the Norman-French did not disappear without leaving its traces in the vocabulary. Many an old Germanic word was ousted by a Latin one; more especially the words belonging to high, refined, and courtly life, were Romance and not Teutonic. So *inwit* made way for *conscience*, *stuff* for *matter*, *byspell* for *example*. We all remember, probably, the remark of the jester in 'Ivanhoe,' that domestic animals when served at table became Norman; the Saxon *ox* was converted into French *beef*, the *sheep* into *mutton*, the *calf* into *veal*, the *swine* into *pork*. In some instances both words remain; and it is to the mingling of Norman and Anglo-Saxon in our vocabulary that we owe our possession of so many pairs of words to express the same idea—heavenly and celestial, kingly and royal, acknowledge and confess, joy and bliss; and the result of it is a rule in English composition, which is by no means strictly laid down in other languages, not to repeat the same word too soon, but to employ a synonym: if you have used the word *brotherly*, say *fraternal* the next time; if you have spoken of *liberty*, call it *freedom*.

The Norman Conquest not only threw the language into

a transition state, out of which it emerged in the form which we may term complete *Middle English*, but it inflicted a severe shock, amounting to a death-blow, on purely Ænglic literature. The old literary English, the English of the Court, being dropped out of use, and in a state of dissolution, the Saxon chronicler and poet ceased to write. From the Conquest to 1200 we have no Saxon, or rather English poetry or prose. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the bard began to write again. The Brut or English Chronicle in verse, by Layamon the priest, who lived at Areley-on-Severn, and the Ormulum or Gospel-paraphrase by Ormin, of whom we know only his name, date about 1205 and 1215 respectively. But their language is not Anglo-Saxon; it is a broken speech, a speech in a state of transition—the old peculiarities and inflexions are disappearing, Latin words are showing themselves; and we feel that Ælfred and Cynewulf would have frowned and shuddered had they heard a dozen lines of Layamon or Ormin, much as Vikramaditya would have been aghast at hearing a line of Hindi, or Cicero at perusing the Oath of Strasburg of 842.

The transition period, however, passed away. A series of writers did their work in perfecting it. Nicolas of Guildford (1270), author of *The Owl and the Nightingale*; Robert of Gloucester (1300), with his *Chronicle of England*; Robert of Brunne (1380), with his *Chronicle*; Laurence Minot (1333–1352), with his poems on Edward III.'s victories, and a number of unknown authors besides; and the Middle English culminated in the grand prose of Wiclif (d. 1384) and the still grander verse of Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1400). But Chaucer's language, and not his language only, is half Norman, and on a Provençal model. Take a few lines, from the *Knights Tale*:—

The lord hath of his heih discrecioun  
 Considered, that it were destruccioun  
 To gentil blood to fighen in the gyse  
 Of mortal bataille now in this emprise;  
 Wherefore, to schapen that they schuln not dye,  
 He wol his firste purpos modifie.

The basis and the grammar is German : the words, that is, the longer and more dignified words, are Norman-French. Endeavour to turn the passage into Ænglisc. The verse, of course, cannot be changed from metrical rhyme to accentuated alliteration without a paraphrase, but I try to render verbatim :—

Se hlaforð hæfð of his heárre gescádwisnysse  
 gedémed, þæt hit wære bealu  
 þæs æpelan blódes to feóhtenne in wisan  
 deadlices wigplegan nu on þisum þinge ;  
 and forþy, to scyppenne þæt hi ne scylon deadian (sweltan),  
 he wile his forman ræd gehweorfan.

Such was the effect of the Norman invasion. It may well be stated in the pithy words of Professor Earle : ' If we want to describe the transition from the Saxon state language of the eleventh century to the Court English of the fourteenth, and to reduce the description to its simplest terms, it comes in fact just to this : that a French family' (he might have added, of German extraction) ' settled in England, and edited the English language.'



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

A melancholy interest attaches to this work. It is the product of the great historian's last days of weakness and pain. It is imperfect, or rather incomplete; we could have wished to see it somewhat extended; the conclusion appears abrupt, and all the more so because the historian so carries his reader along with him that any termination would seem to come too soon. A debt of gratitude is owing to her whose tribute to a beloved memory has been to take up the pen that fell from the 'vanished hand,' and, skilfully throwing the remains of its creations into form, to make the 'Conquest' no unworthy sequel to the 'Making' of England. The 'Conquest of England' it is called; it might have been entitled the 'Conquests.' More than one set of foreign or half foreign invaders forced themselves at point of sword into this England of ours after Ecgherht had begun its consolidation. After a sketch of the condition of the land in his time, Mr.

Green takes us through the history of these invasions, and the periods that intervened. First come the landing and inroads of the Norse Vikings of Norway and North Jutland. Against them Æthelwulf, Æthelbald, and Æthelberht fairly held their own. But a more pertinacious enemy was now to appear in the shape of the Southern Vikings whom we know as the Danes. Against these foes, greedy, ferocious, and rude, the life of the great Alfred was a continued struggle, till their defeat at Edington; and the Peace of Wedmore, in 878, followed by the marking out of the Danelaw, brought comparative quiet to England, by establishing the superiority of Alfred's men to their Scandinavian assailants. And yet, though the Angul-Saxon monarch was superior to the Danish chieftains, this settlement was in some sort a conquest of England, to be followed up by one more decisive a century after. The Peace of Wedmore was not final. Even in Alfred's lifetime there were risings and bickerings, as we know, and a

<sup>1</sup> *The Conquest of England.* By John Richard Green, M.A., LL.D. (Second Edition). London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

second and a third defeat of Danish marauders. And during the reigns of his descendants and successors there was the same alternation of peace and war, till the superiority of Swein and Cnut over Ethelred of the Evil Counsel gave England a house of Danish monarchs. This was a second, and a real, rather than virtual, Conquest of England. Not more than half a century had to pass before the third Conquest was achieved by William of Normandy, himself a Wiking by descent, and representing, in himself or in his followers, the three races, Latin, German, and Scandinavian, who had seized in turn on the land of Caswallon and Cunobelin. Mr. Green makes his sketch profoundly interesting. His is, we need scarcely say, no mere dry chronicle of piracy and resistance, of ineffectual and indecisive skirmishes, of kings, and ealdormen, and bishops; nor yet is it only a narrative, however well told. It is the work of a true scientific historian, who can and does place before us each incident in its bearing on those which succeeded it, and trace the development of events and of political and social organisation. Had he been spared to complete his design, we should have been conducted from the Norman Conquest to the Plantagenet

settlement; the intimations we have in his other writings of his views and the stores of his knowledge on this subject make us feel how masterly a guide he would have been. One criticism, and one only, we shall venture to make on the book before us, that its name must not be misunderstood. The word 'Conquest' is used in a wide sense. Had our language supplied a word which expressed such entrances upon the country as those of the Danes and Normans, without including what we ordinarily mean by Conquests—such as the victories of Alexander over Persia, Rome over Carthage, Spain over Mexico—that word should have stood on the title page.

#### BUDDHISM IN CHINA.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing could be more interesting from a general historical point of view than an unbiassed inquiry into the different 'non-Christian religious systems.' We learn to draw analogies, we see formal dissimilarities tending to produce the same spiritual effect, our heart broadens, our mind expands, and the more we know of others the more we are enabled to cherish what is superior in our own creed. Mr. S. Beal has given us in this spirit a most interesting essay on Buddhism in China.

<sup>1</sup> *Buddhism in China*. By the Rev. S. Beal. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1884.

Though we know that the religious tenets of Gautama must have been believed in many centuries before their introduction and spread in China, we also know that it was the Chinese Emperor Ming-ti who at the beginning of our era sent out messengers to introduce Christianity into China, of which new religion some tidings were said to have reached Loyang (the then capital of China, and the present Honan-fu). The messengers fell in with two Buddhistic priests, Matanga and Gobharana, and hearing of the life and teachings of Buddha, mistook him, blinded by the evil spirit, for Christ, and thus Buddhism became after many vicissitudes and persecutions the ruling faith of one third of the whole human race. We will not give credit to this legend, which was invented by some Jesuits to explain the extraordinary spread of Buddhism in the north-eastern regions of our globe, whilst the north-western people, especially the Teutons, became Christians. Buddhism is a contemplative, passive religion; Christianity demands fervid activity and a thorough balance between morals and intellect as the static and dynamic forces working in humanity. After a perusal of Mr. T. W. RHYS DAVID's masterly book on 'Buddhism,' published by the same Society, and after a study of Mr.

BEAL's work, we may convince ourselves that the ethnical element of humanity has an immense influence on the adoption and fostering of a religion. One thing must strike us in 'Buddhism,' that it is the *only* religion on the surface of our globe which has not caused *one* single drop of human blood to be shed in its propagation. With praiseworthy impartiality, and in a sense of unbiassed objectivity, Mr. Beal traces the origin of the Northern Buddhistic books, their agreement with the Southern Books; the historical connection between India and China; the prophetic dream of the Emperor Ming-ti; the origin of the Sâkya; the legend of Sâkya-Buddha, the 'Life of Buddha,' by ASVAGOSHA, and the historical evolution of Buddhism in China. No less fascinating is the treatment of the philosophical and religious aspect of Buddhism; the worship of Kwan-yin, 'the goddess of Mercy,' in analogy with 'the adoration of the Virgin Mary' amongst Roman Catholics, though it was in contradiction with the primitive principles of Buddhism. We have a dissertation 'on the Western Paradise of the Buddhists,' and a most interesting chapter on the ritual services of Kwan-yin, tracing the influence of Greek ideas on Indian poetry, art, and philosophy from the times of Alexander the Great, who, we are told (see

'Plutarch, Alex.'). was accompanied by some 3,000 artists and actors. Buddha's conception of God; Buddha's ideas 'on the Soul,' and the Future Hope, 'Nirvāna;' this chapter is more important than any of the others, for in it are refuted all those blind accusers and one-sided partizans who on the hearsay of one or another sectarian Buddhist call them atheists and unbelievers in the immortality of the soul. 'Virtuous conduct is the basis of all religion. Dogmas are true for those who accept them,' is the wise answer given by one of the Buddhist priests, by which answer 'Nirvāna,' is 'immortality' for those who believe in it, or not for those who do not accept it in this sense of the word. The ethics of Buddhism, the notions 'on heaven and hell,' must interest students of comparative religion on a strictly historical basis.

#### EARLY CHRONICLES OF ITALY.<sup>1</sup>

To compile, extract, collect, and edit chronicles, is one of the most difficult tasks of specialists in history. M. UGO BALZANI has given us a valuable contribution concerning the Italian chroniclers of the Middle Ages. Roman historiography was in utter decline when the Teutons from the North invaded the sunny South and settled in Italy.

Cassiodorus attempted to revive, if not history, at all events a subordinate branch of it, 'chronicles.' He wrote on the Goths, and published a work under the title 'Libri Epistolarum Variarum,' of which works the Goth, JORDANIS, published a compendium.

The insight which Ugo Balzani gives into the terrible state of Italy during the sanguinary Lombard invasion, the mighty sway and lasting influence of Pope Gregory VII., are of the highest possible interest. The minor writings on this period, the History of the Lombards by PAULUS DIACONUS, the 'Liber Pontificalis,' the Chronicle of St. Benedict, will serve to obtain a correct notion of the religious and social condition of Italy during the transition period from imperial Italy into a divided clerical Italy under the dominion of Teuton princes, with feudal institutions and Teuton soldiers, with an indomitable craving for fights and battles, and an irresistible longing for migration. The state of Lay Education in Italy is well treated, as also the intellectual movement, engendered and fostered in cloisters, carried on by enlightened priests who often sacrificed their lives for a reformation of their Church during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The phases of Italian Thought in the next two centuries

<sup>1</sup> *Italy.* By Ugo Balzani. London: Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. 1883.

are clear proofs of the progressive evolution of history which could not be checked by fire or sword. The writings of the Southern chroniclers of the Norman and Suabian Times must be studied with great care and a thorough appreciation of their mode of collecting facts from their special point of view. The Life of Cola Rienzi will be an illustration that the spirit of freedom was always alive in Italy. It was sometimes dormant, apparently exhausted, but always in existence and often bursting into volcanic eruptions, as during the time of the struggles between the Guelphs (the Papal party) and the Ghibellines (the Imperial party.) The Chronicles of Albertinus Mussatus, of Andrea Dandolo, the latter treating of the political and social condition of Venice, are of more than common importance. The greatest merit of the work is its condensed wealth, giving us the essence of innumerable works, showing a vast reading and the indispensable power in an historian to systematise his subject.

#### FIFTY YEARS OF CONCESSIONS TO IRELAND.

Though the title of Mr. BARRY O'BRIEN'S 'Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland,'<sup>1</sup> might suggest that the scope of the work was limited to the events of the last half-century, the author ex-

plains in his Preface that a much longer survey is necessary to make the history of these concessions intelligible. A legislative measure of redress cannot be understood unless something is known of the origin and development of the wrong which it is intended to remedy. Thus the history of the educational reform introduced in 1831 is prefaced by Mr. O'Brien with an account of the systems of public instruction maintained in Ireland from the time of Henry VIII.; and the discussion of Mr. Gladstone's Land Acts of 1870 and 1881, which belongs to the second volume of the work, requires that the author shall give some account of the Irish land-system prevailing since the date of the battle of Limerick. There can be no question that, in order to form anything like a rational opinion upon those burning Irish questions which we have always with us, it is in fact necessary, as Mr. O'Brien says, to know not only what is passing now but what passed long ago; and an author does the public good service who will present these facts in a temperate way, and allow them to carry their own lesson, without dipping his pen in gall and castigating a reader who may be willing to lament the folly and misdeeds of his ancestors. It is due to Mr. O'Brien to say that

<sup>1</sup> *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland.* By R. Barry O'Brien. Sampson Low & Co. 2 vols. 8vo.

he writes in the spirit of the historian, not of the pamphleteer. The repression which the author has practised upon himself adds greatly to the value of the book ; and his occasional harrowing or piquant quotations from original authorities are far more effective than they would have been if the text of the author's work had been full of invective. Until the beginning of the present century, the end aimed at by English government in Ireland was the conversion of the Irish people to Protestantism, and their incorporation in language and feeling with the English name and nation. A conqueror who, after the lapse of centuries, tries to make reparation for wrong, is apt to be surprised that he does not receive more help and sympathy from the subjugated race ; but the whole question presents itself under a different aspect to the conquered ; and the longer the policy of justice and conciliation has been postponed, the greater are the difficulties in the way of its success. Concession and coercion have during the new epoch gone hand in hand, and the time still seems distant when disturbance and disaffection will cease in Ireland. Whether the partial failure of the policy of concession is in any degree to be accounted for by the fact that England has never conceded in time or adequately, or by the continuance of systems of ad-

ministration opposed to the reforming spirit of legislation ; or whether, on the other hand, the policy of leniency has been a mistake, and a policy of force pure and simple was the only one suitable for Ireland :—these are questions on which Mr. O'Brien leaves his readers to draw their own conclusions from the facts which he puts before them. The chapter on the Irish national system of education, with which the book opens, is perhaps less interesting than those which immediately follow it, describing the struggle for the franchise in 1793, and the tithe-war of 1830–1838. The tragical and comical elements in the latter are strangely intermixed ; and the genius of irony could hardly invent a more grotesque situation than that which closed the battle of Rathcormac, when, after twelve men had been killed and sixty wounded in the attempt to collect by military force the sum of forty shillings due from a widow-woman to Archdeacon Ryder, the Archdeacon got into the house by the back door while the battle was raging in front, and in the most critical moment of the encounter appeared with the words, 'All right, Major ; I have got my tithes.' The history of the Poor Law and of the Municipal Reform Act brings the first volume to a close, the Land Acts belonging, as we said, to the second volume.

## A HISTORY OF LONDON.

MR. LOFTIE'S 'History of London'<sup>1</sup> treats of a great subject, and of one that ought to interest an unusually large circle of readers. His method is skilful, and his range of historical knowledge sufficiently wide to enable him to deal successfully with a period covering about ten centuries. The work opens with a geographical sketch, showing us the original features of a district now covered with the habitations of millions of human beings, and overlaid in some places with many fathoms of the débris of past ages. Not without some effort can the Londoner trace the course of the four streams which ran north and south through the valleys separating the slopes which rose from the Thames—the Westbourne, the Tyburn, the Fleet, and the Walbrook—or realise that a vast lagoon stretched from the river towards Sydenham, from which London probably derived its name, Llyn-din, the lake-fort. Evidence enough remains to bear out Mr. Loftie's description of this primeval scene, far more evidence than exists as to the history of Roman London, which Mr. Loftie confesses to be, with the exception of a few broad facts, irrecoverably lost. The Saxon period is involved in obscurity until the time of Alfred and the

Danes, when the continuous history of London may be said to begin. The features of municipal life and development in the Middle Ages were of the same general cast in London as in other large cities; and in spite of the dissolution of the monasteries and of the momentous political and social changes that arose therefrom mediæval London was in its external aspect not much changed in Shakespeare's time. 'The Wars of the Roses were not more remote from him than the Scots rebellion is from us. London had not altered so much since Gascoigne, Falstaff, and Dame Quickly walked the streets, as it is now since the Gordon riots. He could see the roses growing in the Temple Gardens, with the gabled buildings round them which successive treasurers have been so busy removing.' From Shakespeare's time Mr. Loftie traces the history of the city through the period of the civil war, the plague and the fire, down to the epoch of Wren, to whom he does ample justice. The establishment of the Bank of England, the quarrel between the Corporation and George III., and the prison-reform resulting from Howard's labours, are somewhat concisely dealt with in the last two chapters of the first volume. The second volume deals with London outside the city; with Westminster,

<sup>1</sup> *A History of London.* By W. J. Loftie, B.A. Stanford. 2 vols, 8vo.



the Tower, the Parks, and the suburbs. A mass of curious information is given on the subject of the gradual extension of London, and of the change by which districts like Soho, once the headquarters of fashion, have been abandoned to the poorest class. It may be observed that Mr. Loftie in dealing with modern London is at once the historian and the art-critic, and the reader will perhaps be inclined to dispute some of his utterances in the latter character, as where he pronounces Marochetti's clumsy monument to Lord Melbourne in St. Paul's to be superior to everything either there or at Westminster, and eulogizes the dark and inconvenient Law Courts as the finest Gothic work of this age. Too often Mr. Loftie's wrath at modern artistic achievements in London is just enough; but he is surely excited by his own imagination when he anathematizes the Achilles in Hyde Park as 'a ridiculous statue of the *Duke of Wellington, naked, as Achilles!*' The Duke's features were not of so Grecian a type that the artist could have given them to the Homeric hero, even if he had persuaded his Grace to divest himself of his clothes and stand as a model.

#### THE ORDER OF THE COIF.

MR. SERJEANT PULLING'S  
'Order of the Coif,'<sup>1</sup> a finely

printed work, with many curious and interesting plates, contains a general history of the practice of the English Law Courts, seen rather from the point of view of one devoted to the ancient and learned order to which Serjeant Pulling belongs. The origin of the Serjeants, *servientes ad legem*, is lost in the obscurity of remote ages: they are spoken of in the fourteenth century as then an old institution. The class of King's, or Queen's, Counsel by which they have been superseded in modern times dates only from the days of Bacon. The Serjeants retained the exclusive right of being heard in the Court of Common Pleas till the present reign. The first attempt to overthrow their monopoly was a Lord Chancellor's order in 1834, which the Judges declared to be invalid. This privilege was soon afterwards taken from them by legislation, and the tendency of all subsequent law-reform has been to ignore the value and importance of the most ancient and dignified order of practitioners. The finishing stroke came in the abolition of the rule that every Judge must become a Serjeant before taking his place at the Bench. Though nothing in law prevents the creation of new Serjeants, it appears probable that no more will be appointed. The learned author has probably felt the recent dissolution of Serjeants' Inn to be

<sup>1</sup> *The Order of the Coif.* By Serjeant Pulling. Clowes & Son. Imp. 8vo.

too bitter a calamity to be described: for after bringing us to the verge of this catastrophe, Serjeant Pulling stops short, and lets the curtain fall on that singular act of corporate felo-de-se, in which he must have been so unwilling a participator.

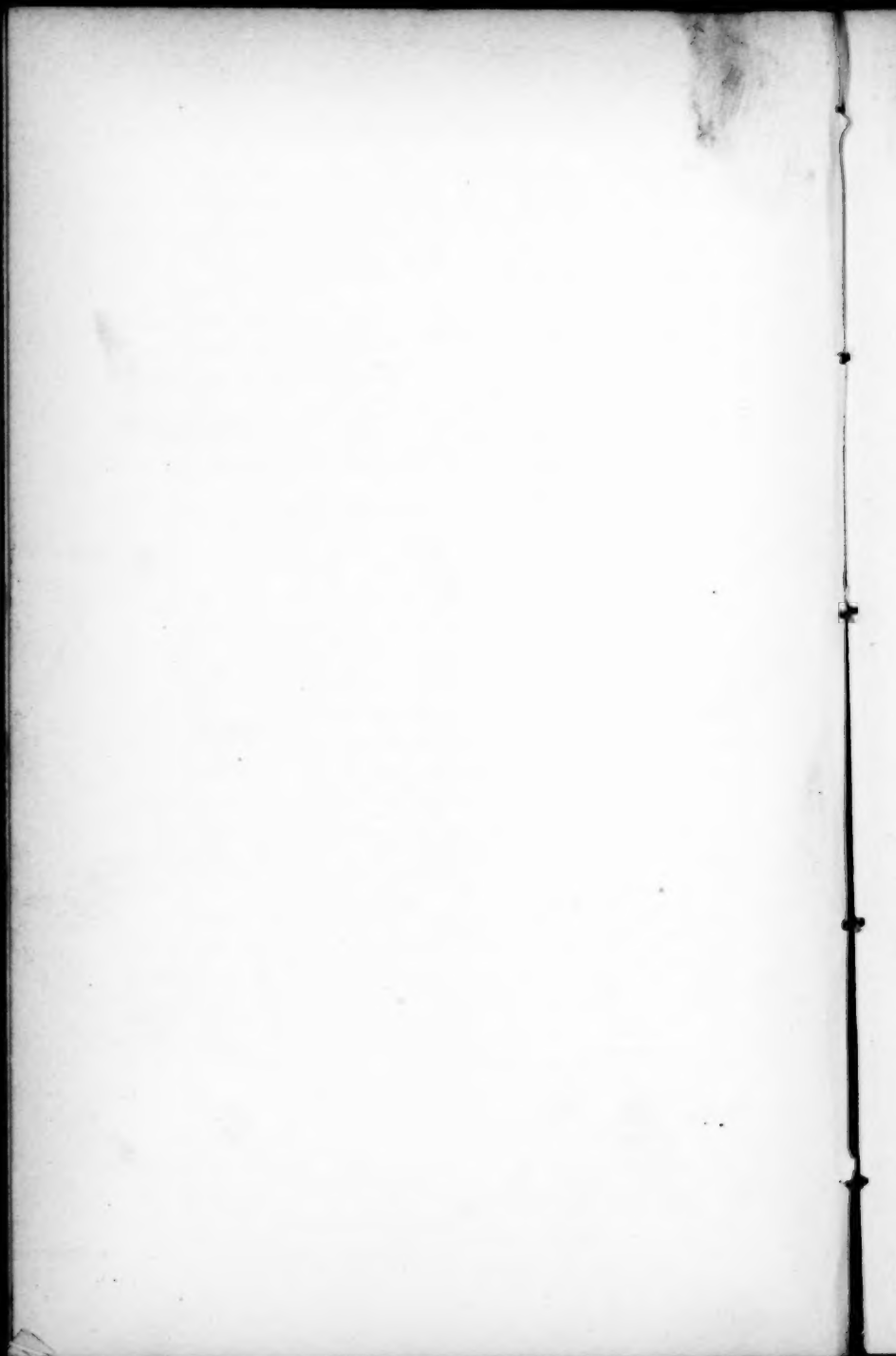
'Studies in History, Legend, and Literature,' by H. SCHÜTZ-

WILSON, contains essays on Lucrezia Borgia and others which have appeared in various reviews, and one on Madame Roland not hitherto published.<sup>1</sup>

The HONOURABLE COLIN LINDSAY reprints seven letters to the *Tablet* in vindication of Mary Stuart.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in History, Legend, and Literature.* By H. Schütz-Wilson. 1 vol. 8vo. Griffith & Farran.

<sup>2</sup> *Mary Queen of Scots and her Marriage with Bothwell.* By the Hon. Colin Lindsay. London: 1883.



TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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THE LOST OPPORTUNITIES OF THE HOUSE  
OF AUSTRIA.

BY COLONEL G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I., F. R. Hist. S.

(*Read February 7, 1884.*)

WHETHER, in deciding to uphold the old faith in Germany, the Emperor Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand I. missed a great opportunity of establishing the House they represented in a position of permanent predominance in that country, is a question to which I shall only refer as forming the historical starting-point of this paper. It has been argued with great ability by Schiller, and Schiller—certainly not under-estimating the enormous difficulties which would have beset the House of Habsburg had its representative cast in his lot with the Reformation—apparently leans to the conclusion that the actual decision arrived at by that representative was, in reality, a lost opportunity. 'It is hard to say,' he observes towards the close of his argument, 'what would have become of the Reformation, what of the liberties of the German Empire, if the dreaded House of Austria had not decided against the former. This much, however, seems proved, that the Austrian princes in no way so barred their way to universal monarchy, as by engaging in stubborn con-

fluct against the new doctrines. Under no other circumstances and in no other eventuality would the weaker princes have been able to force their Order to make the extraordinary efforts which gave them strength to withstand the House of Austria. Under no other circumstances and in no other eventuality would the minor States have combined against one common enemy.'

But, although this is a question which might be fairly argued, I do not propose to argue it this evening. I propose rather to glance at the preponderating influence which the House of Austria did actually attain under the rule of the brother of Charles V. ; to show how it was affected by the results of the Thirty Years' War, as evidenced by the Peace of Westphalia ; to indicate the dangers of its position, external and internal, until the events which produced the Peace of Carlowitz (September 26, 1699) not only removed for ever all fear of Turkish supremacy, but, by removing that fear, enabled the House of Habsburg to concentrate all its efforts upon internal aggrandisement ; to show then how, on four remarkable occasions, when the opportunities for the most advantageous of all possible aggrandisements came so easily within reach that it required only the stretching forth of a hand to seize them, the representative of the House held back, allowed 'I dare not' to wait upon 'I would,' and, by that timidity, allowed the rulership over Germany to fall into the grasp of the bolder House, which wields it at the present hour!

In 1556 Ferdinand I. succeeded in Germany the Emperor Charles V. With Ferdinand began the unbroken line of Bohemian and Hungarian kings belonging to the House of Habsburg. Thirty years before—August 29, 1526—King Louis, the last of the Jagellons, whilst fleeing from the fatal field of Mohács, had met his death. Less than two months later, October 24, the assembled estates of Bohemia elected his brother-in-law, Ferdinand of Habsburg, to succeed him ; and some seven weeks after that, December 16, Hungary followed the example of Bohemia. On the death of Ferdi-

nand, in 1564, the hereditary dominions of the House of Habsburg were divided among his sons. They were reunited, however, in 1619, in the person of Ferdinand II. grandson of the first of that name.

Upon the character of Ferdinand II. depended more than ever the future of the House of Habsburg. Upon it, and upon the manner in which the questions of the day would be affected by it, rested the fate of Germany. The combined religious-political ferment had reached its boiling point. Ferdinand had to decide on the instant whether he would rule strongly, or whether he would be content to be an uncrowned spectator whilst the unchained spirit of anarchy should run its turbulent course.

Many have written of the character of Ferdinand: one writer has completely appreciated it. After describing the circumstances of Germany at the time of his accession, Mr. Samuel Gardiner<sup>1</sup> thus continues:—

It was hard to form a clear conception of the views and opinions of such a man (Ferdinand II.) in the midst of the contest in which he was involved. Even now his distinct place in the scale which leads from the unquestioning intolerance of men like our Henry V. to the large tolerance of men like William III., has still to be recognised. Step by step, as each generation took its place upon the stage, the political aspect of ecclesiastical disputes presented itself more vividly to the minds of the representative men of the age, whilst the theological aspect was gradually dropping out of sight. The place of Ferdinand is to be found midway between Philip II. and Richelieu. . . .

To him Protestantism was hateful, but rather as a source of moral and political disorder than as a spiritual poison. It could not well have been otherwise. When he passed, as a boy, from his own distracted land into Bavaria, where he was to receive his education from the Jesuits of Ingolstadt, the language of the Catholic reaction must have seemed to him like a Divine revelation. At Munich he saw an orderly and well-regulated government walking hand in hand with an honoured clergy. At home he knew that every landowner was doing what was right in his own eyes. To him the religious

<sup>1</sup> *History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the First Civil War*, vol. iii., pp. 267-9.

condition of the Austrian territories must have appeared even more anarchical than it really was.

The view taken by a man possessing the resolute character of Ferdinand of the anarchical effects of the workings of Protestantism, more especially in the hereditary States and in the Kingdom of Bohemia, goes far to account for the Thirty Years' War. That his view was in the main correct is indisputable.

It was the misfortune (to quote again Mr. Gardiner) of the Protestantism which sprang into existence in the dominions of the House of Austria that its fate was intimately united with that of an anarchical aristocracy. . . . To the great families the adoption of the new religion had commended itself as the readiest way of shaking off the supremacy of the Crown. It gave them, upon their own estates, all the power which had been assumed by German princes within their territories. It enabled them to seize Church property by force or fraud, and to trample at pleasure on the wishes and feelings of their serfs. It annihilated the authority of the sovereign and of the clergy to the sole profit of the landowner.

This, then, was the position in which Ferdinand II. found himself on his accession to the empire. A very resolute man, possessing nerves of iron, and if narrow in his views yet a firm upholder of the law as the law stood, was in the presence of a revolution—a revolution fomented by a greedy and selfish aristocracy, leading a people so blinded by religious enthusiasm, that they did not realise clearly the actual points at issue, and directing that enthusiasm to promote its own ends. The inevitable result was the Thirty Years' War.

That war, after undergoing many phases, assured the victory of legality. Well was it for Germany, well for Europe, that this result was obtained. The victory of the weaker princes would not only have dissolved the empire, but 'by the dissolution of the ties which bound German Austria to Hungary and Bohemia it would have thrown the whole of Eastern Europe into confusion, and would have reopened the road into the heart of Germany to Mussulman hordes.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner. The reader will bear in mind that, even when sheltered by the strong arm of Austria, Southern Germany all but succumbed to the invasion of



There are few, then, I think, who will not arrive at the conclusion of Mr. Gardiner, that 'the dispassionate inquirer, however badly he may think of the religious system by which Protestantism was superseded in these territories, can hardly do otherwise than rejoice at the defeat of the political system of the men by whom Protestantism was in the main supported.'

Internally—that is, within the limits of Germany—the Peace of Westphalia settled the religious question. Whilst it confirmed the dogma, held by every prince, great and small, as an unquestioned prerogative, that the religion of the prince was to be the religion of the people, it left, with rare exceptions, the people practically free to worship God as they chose.<sup>1</sup> But as, generally, the people of Southern Germany adhered to the old, and those of Northern Germany embraced, in some form or other, the new religion, the practical result was to divide Germany into two camps—the Southerners allied by sympathy with Austria; the Northerners more or less divided, but prepared, as the sequel has proved, to follow the lead of a strong man, whenever that strong man should appear.

From the Peace of Westphalia, October 24, 1648, to the signature of the Peace of Carlowitz, September 26, 1699, the main danger to Southern Germany was the danger of an Ottoman invasion. During those fifty-one years the discontented nobles of Transylvania and of Hungary ever found a protector in the Porte. The Porte protected in order to devour. It required all the valour of Sobieski (September 12, 1683), the tactical skill of Prince Charles of Lorraine<sup>2</sup> and Prince Louis of Baden,<sup>3</sup> and the genius of Prince Eugene,<sup>4</sup> to

the Turks, under Kara Mustapha, nearly fifty years later. What would have been the position had the invader been met by the petty armies of small and disunited States?

<sup>1</sup> The expulsion of the Protestants of Styria by the Emperor Charles VI is an exception to this general rule.

<sup>2</sup> Who won the second battle of Mohács, August 12, 1689.

<sup>3</sup> Who defeated the Turks at Salankama, August 19, 1691, slaying one-fifth their number.

<sup>4</sup> Who crushed the Turks at Zenta, Sept. 11, 1697.

deliver Eastern Europe from being scourged by Turkish hordes. The battle of Zenta was, however, one of the decisive battles of the world. It not only destroyed the Ottoman army, it caused even a rising in Constantinople. Its result was the treaty of Carlowitz. From the date of this treaty Turkey ceased for ever to be dangerous to Austria. Following, moreover, as it did, upon a long and terrible war for existence, it assured the firmer adhesion to the House of Habsburg of Hungary<sup>1</sup> and Transylvania.

The danger from the side of Turkey passed and gone for ever, the emperor had to confront another, less imminent but still very formidable, arising from the ambition of Louis XIV. In 1702 began the war of the Spanish succession. It was in the course of this war that a magnificent opportunity offered to the House of Habsburg to make its hold on Catholic—that is, on Southern—Germany so absolute and binding, that no future combination could shake it. Of this opportunity, which was not taken, I propose now to give the details.

When the war of the Spanish succession broke out, Leopold, called by the Austrians 'the Great,' grandson of Ferdinand II., was emperor. Leopold lived to witness the triumph of the allied arms at Blenheim (August 2, 1704); the year following, he died (May 5, 1705). His eldest son and successor, Joseph I., carried on the war with even greater vigour than his father. The triumphs of Ramillies, May 23, 1706, of Turin, September 7 of the same year, of Oudenarde, July 11, 1708, and of Malplaquet, 1709, whilst they humbled the pride of Louis XIV., exhausted the resources of France. It is true that in Spain the victories of Almanza, April 25, 1707, and of Villa Viciosa, December 10, 1710, acted, to a certain extent, as a counterpoise to those triumphs. But the victories

<sup>1</sup> The first battle of Mohács had transferred the elective crown of Hungary from the extinct line of the Jagellons to the Habsburg. The result of the second battle was to cause the estates of Hungary to pass at Pressburg a decree solemnly conferring upon the House of Habsburg the right of succession in male line to the throne of Hungary. They proceeded, on the spot, to crown the eldest son of the Emperor, the Archduke Joseph, though he was hardly nine years old, Dec. 9, 1687.

of the French candidate for the Spanish throne were but a poor compensation for the long series of humiliation and disaster sustained by the French arms in Italy, in Belgium, and in Germany.

In this great contest Bavaria had cast in her lot with France. The victory of Blenheim had given that electorate into the hands of the emperor, and the elector, Maximilian Emanuel, had been placed at the ban of the empire. Already, after Blenheim, Louis XIV. had made (1704) to the States-General of Holland proposals to cede Naples and the two Sicilies to the Archduke Charles provided that his grandson were to be acknowledged as King of Spain and the Indies. With respect to the Netherlands, he proposed to form of it an independent kingdom, the rule of which, apparently, he designed for the Elector of Bavaria. At that time certainly it would have been easy for Austria to obtain peace on the basis of an exchange of the Netherlands for Bavaria. The allies rejected these terms. Nor when, in 1706, Louis saw his armies beaten in Flanders at Ramillies, in Italy at Turin, and in Spain before Barcelona, and proposed terms of a far more yielding character—offering to transfer Spain and the Indies to the Archduke Charles, provided the Spanish possessions in Italy should be secured to his grandson, and to consider with the States-General the question of the Netherlands—were his terms more readily listened to. Again, after the disastrous campaign of 1708, did the French king still further lower his pretensions. To the offer of Spain and the Indies he added that of the Milanese. For his grandson he asked only Naples and the two Sicilies.

As my subject is the consideration of the lost opportunities of the House of Austria, I propose to place upon record the views by which the leading statesmen of that House were animated when they decided to reject such proposals as these. It must be recollected that the time was the winter of 1708-9, when although Joseph I. was emperor he was without male offspring; when Charles, the claimant to the Spanish possessions, was also heir to the empire; further,

when the dominions of the Elector of Bavaria were occupied by Austria, when the elector himself was at the ban of the empire, and when the French king had shown himself not unwilling to consider an arrangement whereby his ally, the elector, might be compensated for the loss of his hereditary States, by the possession of the Netherlands. Such an opportunity for rounding off its borders, for taking in the territory which would be of priceless advantage to her, while she made a show of magnanimity by rejecting that which, though of greater sounding value, could only be an incumbrance to her, has rarely been presented to any State. Let us mark now the spirit in which these proposals of 1708 were debated by the foremost statesmen of the House of Austria.

It was dreaded in Vienna (writes the Ritter von Arneth,<sup>1</sup> basing his conclusions upon an examination of the Imperial archives) that the States-General, even if they were not to conclude a separate peace with France, as they had done on a former occasion, might yet be drawn into one-sided preliminary engagements, the unsatisfactory character of which might prevent the conclusion of a peace on a firm basis. To provide for such a contingency, the emperor thought it necessary to nominate, at a very early period, a commission to consider the terms which, in his own interest, in the interests of his House, and of the German Empire, it would be incumbent upon him to demand at a general peace conference.

This commission was composed of a so-called 'deputation,' of which Prince Salm was the president, Prince Eugene, Trautson, Seilern, Zinzendorff, and Wratislaw, were members. As during the greater part of its sittings, Prince Salm was ill, the presidency practically devolved upon Eugene, and the meetings were held at his house.

The first minutes of the conference prove at once how highly raised were the expectations of the Court of Vienna with respect to the conditions to be demanded.

Count Zinzendorff opened the proceedings with the declaration that two years previously the terms upon which a satisfactory peace could be concluded had been agreed upon with Marlborough, and placed upon paper. The basis of these terms were as follows :—

<sup>1</sup> *Prince Eugen von Savoyen*, in three volumes, Wien, 1864.

With respect to Spain, no agreement could be satisfactory which did not transfer to the House of Austria the undivided possessions of Spain as those possessions were at the date of the Peace of the Pyrenees (November 7, 1659), that date to be insisted upon, because the subsequent treaties—those of Nymwegen (August 10, 1678) and Ryswick (September 20, 1697)—were far more favourable to France. The absolute transfer, then, of all Spain to the House of Austria was a cardinal point, to be insisted upon without reserve, not one inch even to be yielded to Philip of Anjou. In Italy, the same conditions were to be rigorously insisted upon, and if any part of the Spanish dominions were to be alienated in favour of Philip, that part must be the Netherlands; not, indeed, that the transfer of that country to the House of Bourbon was thought of for a moment, but the idea of it would excite the Dutch, and induce them to support the demands of the emperor.

With respect to the second point—the Holy Roman Empire—it was again Zinzendorff who declared that Marlborough and Heinsius had proposed the Peace of Westphalia as the basis of the new treaty. But when Zinzendorff had insisted upon the inadequacy of the terms of this Peace with respect alike to Italy and Germany, it had been agreed to insist upon the deposition of the two princes who had been placed at the ban of the empire—the electors of Bavaria and of Cologne—and to treat for their reinstatement as the basis of an extension of the borders of the empire.

The point which now had to be considered was the definite meaning to be attached to the term ‘extension of the borders of the empire.’ It was decided to demand from France the old boundaries. If these were not to be obtained, then the least that would be accepted were: Strasbourg, with the territories belonging to its bishopric; Alsace, with the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; together with all the places severed from the empire by the Peace of Ryswick.

I have been particular in stating at length all the matters with respect to Germany which came under consideration of the foremost statesmen of Austria at their secret conference in 1709, to prove that the idea of the incorporation of Bavaria by the head of the House of Habsburg—the only measure needed to make that House absolutely supreme in Southern Germany—had not at that date even been considered. This seems the more curious inasmuch as in 1704 and 1706, Louis XIV. had, in his proposals to the States-General of

Holland, given some indication that he was not indisposed to exchange Bavaria for the Netherlands. It would seem that in their desire to secure for the Imperial House the whole heritage of Charles V.—Spain and the Indies, Spanish Italy, and the Netherlands—the wisest heads in Austria despised the comparatively small addition of territory which, nevertheless, would have rendered the House of Habsburg absolutely supreme in Germany.

In the months of April and May following, the representatives of the allies met at the Hague the Foreign Minister of France, the Marquis of Torcy, who was there, incognito, to urge the acceptance of the very favourable terms to which his master was ready to accede, and which have already been stated in full detail. The strongest opponent of the French minister was the prince who represented alike the interests of the German Empire and the interests of the House of Austria—Prince Eugene of Savoy.

With whomsoever he had to do (I quote again his biographer, Arneth), with the deputies of the States-General, with the representatives of England, or with those of the German princes, Eugene argued emphatically against the acceptance of the French proposals. He asked them how the bestowal of Naples or the two Sicilies, or of both, upon Philip of Anjou, was compatible with their often-repeated consent to the cession of the entire Spanish dominions to the House of Austria. The King of Portugal wants to obtain a strip of Spain; the Duke of Savoy demands the best part of the Milanese; the States-General require the Netherland fortresses as a barrier against France, and hope to obtain for themselves the commerce with the Indies. These demands may be granted, but why should they admit the claim of the King of France to a kingdom for his grandson simply because, against the right of nations, and by force of arms, he had at one time seized for him the throne of Spain? I believe (concluded Eugene, in a conversation of this character with Heinsius) that that king would consider himself fortunate if, in addition to the territories which have been demanded of him, he were forced to restore to the Netherlands and other neighbours the lands of which he had unjustly deprived them.

The winter of 1708-9 had been one of extraordinary

severity. The long war had exhausted France, and the allies believed that the misery of the winter, following upon the exhaustion of the war, would largely influence Louis XIV. and incline him to make peace on any terms. The fact that he had sent to the Hague his principal minister seemed to prove that he had very much at heart the conclusion of the war.

This thought, their successes in the recent war, the union amongst themselves, gave to the representatives of the allies an arrogance which in the end worked much to their disadvantage. It is true that the French minister, unable to divide them—although Louis XIV. had commissioned him to offer Marlborough four millions of francs if he would agree to the French terms<sup>1</sup>—was so struck with the strength of their position that he agreed to the transfer to the House of Habsburg of the Spanish monarchy and possessions as they had existed at the death of Charles II. ; to recognise the Protestant succession in England ; to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk ; to the dismissal of the Pretender, and the evacuation of the frontier fortresses demanded by Holland. With respect to the German empire, Torcy agreed to treat on the basis of the conditions of the Peace of Ryswick, and to yield in addition Strasbourg, Kehl, and Alt-Breisach, retaining only Landau. To Victor Amadeus he offered to restore Savoy and Nice.

It was on the terms relating to Germany and Italy that the greatest difficulties arose. For the former, Eugene demanded, in addition to the concessions offered by Torcy, Alsace and the Sundgau, Hüningen, Fort Louis, Neu Breisach, Schlettstadt and the remaining frontier fortresses. To Victor Amadeus, the allies insisted on the rendition, besides Savoy and Nice, of Exilles, Fenestrelles and the entire country as far as Mount Genève.

In the course of the lively discussions which followed—discussions marked, writes Arneth, 'by the insistance of Eugene,

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires de Torcy*, Coll-Petitot, lxvii. 340. The despatch of the French king to Torcy is dated May 14, 1709.



the prolixity of Marlborough, the curt dryness of Heinsius and the tact, temper, and moderation of Torcy'—the demands of the German plenipotentiary varied, and varied, I venture to think, in a wrong direction for the real interests of the House of Austria. Eugene agreed to modify his demands regarding the frontier between France and Germany: to accept Alsace and the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun: but on the other hand, he demanded that the Spain to be transferred to the House of Habsburg should be the Spain of the time of the Peace of the Pyrenees, and not the Spain of the time of the Peace of Ryswick. Finally, the allies presented an ultimatum, in which they formulated these conditions, and required further that if Philip of Anjou should decline to accede to those affecting Spain, the King of France should send his armies to compel him.

On May 28 the Marquis of Torcy left the Hague, and hastened with the result of the negotiations to Versailles. He had promised that before June 4, he would inform the allies whether the king had accepted or rejected their proposals. He kept his word; for on June 2 he wrote to Eugene to state that after mature reflection the king had found it impossible to agree to the ultimatum. 'If I must wage war,' Louis, with noble indignation, had exclaimed, 'I would rather wage it against my enemies than against my grandson.'

But for that clause compelling him to such a course, it is probable that the conditions, hard as they were, would have been accepted. The insistence upon impossible terms prevented the conclusion of a peace which would have given the House of Austria Spain and the Indies, and possibly, regard being had to the proposal made by Louis in 1704, have enabled it, had it insisted, to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria. The opportunity for obtaining this result, the enormous advantages of which were, apparently, but dimly seen by Austrian statesmen, was deliberately thrown away.

That Prince Eugene himself felt that he had committed a great error by his too great insistence is certain. He had

insisted because he believed that the condition of France would force Louis to give way. He had counted on the acceptance of the ultimatum. He had written of it as an accomplished fact. When it was refused, the sense of the responsibility the House of Austria had incurred by its excessive demands found expression in a letter which he wrote on June 11, to Count Zinzendorff:—

It is true (he wrote) that a victory might give us still better conditions. But they can never be much better, for the Dutch do not wish the complete humiliation of France. If the military operations do not, at the outset, produce very favourable results, I am very much afraid that the union which has till now prevailed amongst the allies will disappear, and that we shall lose much more than we can win. I have often affirmed that whenever France obtains the upper hand she pushes her good fortune to the very utmost. When, however, by an enormous expenditure of blood and strength she is driven to a disadvantageous position like the present, then the majority of her enemies fear to humiliate her too much, not considering that after a few years' rest she will arise refreshed and begin again to worry her neighbours. I know well the people with whom we have to deal, and I do not hesitate to affirm that we are risking far more than we can possibly win.

Memorable and prophetic words! But why, then, did Eugene, who was the soul of the negotiators, insist upon conditions which would place his adopted country in such a position?

The war, then, continued. The allies did meet with the early success to which Eugene referred, in his letter to Zinzendorff, as being essential to prevent disaster. They took Tournay, July 30; its citadel, September 5. Six days later they defeated the French army at Malplaquet. On October 20, they concluded the campaign by the capture of Mons. On the Flemish frontier, then, there had been a series of successes. In Spain the allies under Stahremberg and Stanhope had done somewhat more than hold their own.<sup>1</sup> On the Italian side, Count Mercy, whilst endeavouring to effect a junction with Count Wirich Daun in Franche Comté, had been beaten by the French general Du Bourg. This

<sup>1</sup> They had taken the town of Balaguer on the Segre.

defeat had compelled Duan to confine himself to the defence of Piedmont. On the Rhine, thanks to the incapacity of the Elector of Hanover, who commanded the German army on that frontier, nothing had been gained: but then nothing had been lost. The campaign of 1709, on the whole, left the allies in a more favourable, France in a worse, condition, than they had respectively occupied at its commencement.

The exhaustion and the losses caused by the war had been felt not alone in France. The Dutch troops had suffered terribly at Malplaquet; the resources of the German empire had been drawn upon to their utmost. England was beginning to tire of fruitless slaughter. From almost every quarter, then, from Holland, from England, from Germany, and, loudest of all, from France, there came a cry for peace. Secret negotiations with that object had begun between the Hague and Versailles as soon as the campaign had terminated.

In Vienna only, the Court opinion in favour of the continuance of the war except upon impossible terms of peace predominated. This was the more strange, inasmuch as it was well known that the hereditary dominions of the House of Habsburg were exhausted; that a war was raging in Hungary; that the Princes of the empire, especially the King of Prussia, were beginning to show a distaste for the continuance of a war the profit of which would accrue mainly to the Imperial House; that it would be impossible to carry on the contest without allies. Yet never in the world's history has a greater obstinacy—an obstinacy on points of secondary importance—been displayed than that which marked all the consultations of the statesmen of Austria at this memorable epoch. In the deliberations regarding the articles which should form the basis of a permanent peace held at Vienna during the winter of 1709-10, two specially were insisted upon: the first, that not even one shred of the ancient Spanish monarchy should be assigned to Philip of Anjou, and that the King of France should co-operate with the allies to compel him to renounce his claims thereto; the second, that certain fortresses should be placed in the hands of the allies

as pledges for the fulfilment of this contract, those fortresses to be permanently forfeited by France if the conduct of that country should justify the continuance of the war against her.

To discuss the conditions of peace, especially those two conditions on which the House of Austria laid so firm a stress, Louis XIV. despatched two plenipotentiaries, Marshal d'Huxelles and the Abbé de Polignac, to Gertruidenberg, in North Brabant, in the winter of 1709-10. The allies were represented there only by the Dutch deputies, Buys and Van der Dussen.

After many verbal encounters the French plenipotentiaries so far yielded that they agreed to the cession of the entire Spanish dominions to the House of Austria, provided that the islands of Sicily and Sardinia were secured to Philip of Anjou ; further, that if that prince should decline, within a term of six months, to accept these conditions and to quit Spain, then the King of France would contribute a stipulated fixed sum to aid in his forcible expulsion from that country.

But before this conclusion was arrived at, hostilities had begun. Again had fortune favoured the allies. They had taken the important fortress of Douay (June 29, 1710) in the face of Marshal Villars, and the army commanded by that illustrious general was, they well knew, the last hope of France. They had then a great opportunity of concluding an advantageous peace. But neither did the concession I have mentioned nor even the further yielding of the point regarding the two islands satisfy them. They insisted that if Philip were to refuse to yield, the armies of his grandfather should compel him. On this point Louis XIV. was firm, and on this alone the negotiations at Gertruidenberg were broken off.

The allies continued their victorious course. On August 31, they took Bethune ; then Aixe and St. Venant. Heavy rains prevented the further continuance of the campaign. In Spain, however, matters had gone badly. The English general, Stanhope, had been forced to surrender with all his troops at

Brihuega, and though Stahremberg had held the field of battle at Villa Viciosa, he had been compelled to recross the Catalanian frontier.

The growing disinclination evinced by the English Court during the winter towards a continuance of the war, the removal from power of Marlborough's friends, and, above all, the death of the Emperor Joseph, April 17, 1711, gave an entirely new complexion to affairs. The last-named event virtually made the Archduke Charles emperor of Germany. Then occurred an opportunity, of all others the most favourable, by a great act of renunciation of a monarchy, the holding of which was not, at that time certainly, compatible with the equally exalted position of emperor of Germany, to secure for the House of Austria those permanent advantages which would have secured for her permanent predominance in Germany.

No one comprehended the new situation more clearly than Louis XIV. He saw that Europe would never permit the union on one head of the crowns of Spain and Germany. He knew that England and Holland were tired of a war the original object of which had been in a great measure diverted by the force of events. He had read, moreover, the obstinate character of the new emperor, the almost passionate influence which his predilection for Spain and the Spanish monarchy exercised over him; and he felt that with ordinary prudence on his part the grand alliance would dissolve. He transmitted then the most peremptory orders to Marshal Villars to avoid, however much he might be tempted, delivering a battle. A victory would be as dangerous to him as a defeat. For whilst the latter would leave open the road to Paris, the former would rouse again to fever heat the warlike passions of the English people which had now begun to slumber. His policy was to await, armed yet passive, the course of events.

In this prescient policy Louis was singularly aided by the sovereign who was his principal opponent, the new Emperor of Germany. Charles had proceeded to Spain in

the early days of the war to give life, by his presence, to the cause of which he was in that country the representative. There he had imbibed a love for the Spanish character which had become a passion. He had returned surrounded by Spanish councillors, men who had imperilled their possessions in Spain to support him, and whose fortunes depended upon his success. To Charles, then, the maintenance of the Spanish possessions in their integrity was a point of cardinal importance. For a long time no statesman in his hereditary dominions dared to whisper in his presence the cession of even a yard of the territories of Charles II. He returned to Austria, a Habsburg indeed in obstinacy, a Spaniard in every other feature of character.

Yet the opportunities before him were such as never before or since offered to a purely Austrian statesman. To an Austrian Emperor of Germany the possession of Spain and the Indies would be little more than an incumbrance. To maintain that double empire the interests of one portion must be sacrificed. The genius of Charles V., had found the inheritance a burden too great to be borne by one man. He had consigned the lesser portion, as he considered it, to his brother in order the better to govern the greater. There could be no doubt that were the dream of Charles VI. to become a reality he would be impelled to a similar conclusion, and as little that he would repeat and ratify the selection made by his great forerunner.

To Charles, as a German, and especially as an Austrian German, the hold which he still had on the Spanish possessions should have appeared as the light of a lever wherewith to force from France concessions which might have made Germany strong, the House of Austria predominant. From the moment of his accession, that became the view of the most prominent purely Austrian statesmen. Unfortunately it did not become the idea of Prince Eugene, whose influence, had it been thrown into that scale, might ultimately have caused the purely Austrian cause to triumph. To renounce Spain and the Indies, but to obtain the Spanish

Netherlands and the Spanish possessions in Italy; to exchange the Spanish Netherlands for Bavaria, were terms which might have been exacted at any period after Blenheim, and which might have most certainly been exacted on the accession of Charles to the imperial dignity.

The exchange of the Netherlands for Bavaria would have been singularly acceptable to the prince most interested in the matter, the elector, Max Emanuel. That prince had no liking for the customs and people of the Fatherland. In character a Frenchman, lively, witty, fond of gaiety, he infinitely preferred the lightheartedness of Brussels to the staid solemnity of Munich. Not only would he not have objected to the change: he was even anxious for it.

That such terms could have been obtained if the emperor had worked well with England and Holland in 1711-12 is not to be doubted. In the death of the Emperor Joseph, England had seen the opportunity for the conclusion of the war. There was as little desire in Europe to see the crowns of two nations of first-class importance on the head of a Habsburg as of a Bourbon. A few moments of staid reflection on the part of Charles, and he could have dictated the terms I have already indicated.

But Charles showed no moderation. When he heard that England had agreed to treat with France on the basis of the recognition of the Protestant succession, and on the renunciation by Philip, for himself and his successors, of the French inheritance, he despatched Eugene to England to reason with the British ministry. What were the instructions given to Eugene may be gathered from his language to Lord Oxford. 'If,' he said to that minister, 'there were any question on the part of England of ceasing to insist upon the claims of the emperor to the throne of Spain and the Indies, I have no longer any business in this country.' After a stay of over two months in England, he returned to the Hague with the conviction that, for the assertion of his Spanish claims 'the emperor had nothing to hope for from the English ministry.'



The campaign which followed soon showed that Eugene had as little to hope for from the English army. Weakened by the defection of the Duke of Ormond, who had received peremptory orders, first, to assist in no attack on the French, and later, to retire upon Dunkerque, Eugene was not only forced to forego a very favourable opportunity for attack, but to witness, without power to prevent it, the fall of St. Arnaud, Marchiennes, Douay, and Quesnoy. These events should have opened the eyes of the emperor. It was still in his power to make favourable terms. But, after the campaign, his ablest minister, Count Wratislaw, was able only to make a slight impression upon him;<sup>1</sup> and the death of Wratislaw soon afterwards threw Charles once more under the supreme influence of his Spanish councillors.

England, France, Holland, Portugal, Savoy, and Prussia, signed the Peace of Utrecht on March 14, 1713. The terms upon which the emperor might be admitted to that treaty were formulated, and he was allowed till June 1 to declare his adherence. But he cared not for the time. He withdrew his ambassador at once, determined to continue the war on the Rhine.

The campaign which followed was disastrous to him. Eugene outnumbered could not prevent the fall of Landau (August 19), nor that of Freiburg (November 17). Even then the emperor wished to continue the war. But events were too strong for him, and finally he was forced to confer upon Prince Eugene powers to negotiate at Rastadt conditions of peace with his opponent on the field of battle, Marshal Villars.

At the conferences at that place Eugene seriously mooted the question of the exchange of the Netherlands for Bavaria. But an arrangement which at any time from 1704 to 1711 might have been dictated, which from the latter year up to March 13, 1713, was still negotiable, was now scarcely possible.

<sup>1</sup> 'I see,' wrote Wratislaw to Eugene in 1712, 'that, though the pill is bitter, if some arrangements could be made to preserve his honour with respect to the pledges he has given to the Catalonians, it will eventually be swallowed.'

Louis XIV. had no desire to pluck a thorn from the side of the House of Austria, nor did he care much to have upon his own borders a prince who might not always be a friend. Whenever, therefore, Eugene led up to the subject, Villars gracefully turned it. When, at last, Eugene insisted upon its being discussed, Villars roundly declared that his master's word was pledged to the restoration of Max Emanuel to all his rights and dignities in Bavaria ; that, with the accomplishment of that stipulation his interest ended ; that, then, whatever arrangement Austria and Bavaria might come to in no way concerned him. It seems to me, as it has seemed to more than one Austrian writer, that this reply should—Max Emanuel being willing—have fixed the idea more firmly than ever in the mind of the emperor. But, throughout his life, Charles VI. was neglecting the substance to pursue the shadow.<sup>1</sup>

‘It appears,’ writes the Ritter von Arneth, ‘that the matter was not pressed with the necessary vigour from Vienna. This is to be attributed to the extraordinary influence which the Spanish surroundings of the emperor exercised upon that monarch.’ The opportunity was lost. The Peace negotiated at Rastadt, and signed the September 8 following at Baden, in Switzerland, whilst it restored Kehl to the empire, Altbreisach and Freiburg to the emperor, and ceded to him the Spanish Netherlands, the Milanese, Naples, Sardinia, and the fortresses and harbours on the coast of Tuscany, insisted on the restoration of Bavaria and of the electoral dignity to Max Emanuel!

Twenty years passed. Once again did Fortune offer an opportunity—a very tempting opportunity—to the House of Austria. In 1734 the question of the succession to the Crown of Poland produced war between France and the empire. Again did the Elector of Bavaria, now Charles Albert, show an inclination to take part against the emperor.

<sup>1</sup> In his later years he directed all his efforts to secure adhesion to the Pragmatic Sanction, neglecting his army by which alone the conditions of that instrument could have been upheld. The consequences are well known.

Charles Albert, son of Max Emanuel, whom he had succeeded in 1726, had married the daughter of the Emperor Joseph I., the elder brother of Charles; and in her right, according to the will of the Emperor Leopold and the law of hereditary succession, he possessed a better-founded claim to the succession to the Austrian dominions than did the eldest daughter of the reigning emperor, Maria Theresa. It had been to change the order of succession in favour of his daughter that Charles had devoted all his energies to procure from all Europe the acceptance of the Pragmatic Sanction. Charles Albert, however, had never concealed his intention to insist upon his rights, and in 1734, when the empire was once again entangled in war with France, he gave, as I have said, unmistakable symptoms of hostility to his liege lord.

Fortune, however, had provided a way out of the difficulty—a way which, if Charles VI. had chosen to adopt it, would have made his daughter hereditary joint-ruler over Southern Germany, and have for ever resolved the question of pre-dominance in that country.

The means she had provided for the attainment of this end were a marriage between the son of Charles Albert and the eldest daughter of Charles VI. Charles Albert was most anxious for the union; he proposed it over and over again. The emperor, although he saw all the advantages it promised, all the dangers which its rejection would entail—a disputed succession and a war which would tax all the resources of the hereditary States—persisted in refusing the offer. The reason he gave was that his daughter was older than her suitor. His jealous mistrust of the ambitious character of Charles Albert was, however, the real cause of his refusal.

The refusal of Charles VI. was the more full of danger to Austria because the elector, Clement Augustus, of Cologne, was the brother of Charles Albert of Bavaria, and had warmly espoused his interests; because, further, the Elector Palatine, Charles Philip, had been alienated from the Imperial House by the conduct of the emperor in espousing the claims to

the Duchy of Berg of the King of Prussia in preference to his own. The opportunity, however, though it would have been in precise accordance with the hereditary policy of Austria—

*Bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube,*

was rejected. That rejection not only prevented the permanent predominance of Austria, but entailed, by its consequences, the loss of Silesia.

Again, after a term of years, did the question arise. Again was the opportunity offered. In the interval had occurred the two Silesian Wars and the Seven Years' War. The daughter of Charles VI., the illustrious Maria Theresa, ruled over all her father's dominions, lost Silesia excepted. By her side, invested nominally with equal powers, but obliged to conform in matters of high policy to the strong will of the empress, stood her gifted son, Joseph II. Once again offered the opportunity of incorporating Bavaria, although, this time, not without a battle. The opportunity arose in this wise.

Charles Albert of Bavaria had lived to enjoy a fleeting gleam of prosperity by his election to the imperial dignity. and had then died, all his ambitious hopes shattered, in 1745. His son, Maximilian Joseph III., had, by the Peace of Füssen, April 22 of the same year, become reconciled to Austria. He died childless December 30, 1777. He was the last of the Bavarian line of the House of Wittelsbach. His nearest of kin was the Elector Palatine, Charles Theodore. But, in virtue of the title of investiture drawn up more than a century before by the Emperor Sigismund, the House of Habsburg had claims, on the failure of heirs to the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, to the whole of lower Bavaria. Joseph II. then represented, in co-regency with his renowned mother, the House of Habsburg. He did not allow the opportunity to slip. Charles Theodore was childless, and had no hope of children. A lover of pleasure, given to profuse expenditure on his own gratifications, he readily acceded to the claims of Austria to transfer to her the

territory indicated in Sigismund's old parchment. But his nearest relative and heir, Charles II., Duke of Zweibrücken, stepped in to prevent the transaction, appealed to the old jealousy of the aggrandisement of the House of Austria of Frederic II. of Prussia, and incited that prince to invade Bohemia in order to maintain the right of the ruler of Bavaria and his successors to the possessions of the territories intact, just as they had been at the death of the last of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs.

This action on the part of Frederic brought on the war of the Bavarian succession. Joseph, meanwhile, had taken up on the Bohemian frontier, behind the Elbe, a position so strong by nature and so fortified by art, that Frederic found it unassailable. He did all he knew, tried all the tricks and stratagems which had served him so well during the Seven Years' War, to entice Joseph from his strong position, to divide the army, or to leave an opening for an attack. Joseph was not to be tempted, and his quiet persistence completely baffled the great warrior king.

But Frederic did not renounce hope. He had ordered his brother, Prince Henry, to march through Saxony and endeavour to break into Bohemia through the Lausitz. With the aid of the army under his orders he would have at his disposal a sufficient superiority in numbers to force the Austrian position.

But Joseph had placed in the field, to observe and baffle Prince Henry, an army 50,000 strong, under the command of his best general, Field-Marshal Loudon, a man who had shown his capacity to look even Frederic himself in the face. Able, then, as were the dispositions made by Prince Henry, Loudon baffled them. He did more—he forced the prince to retreat. He followed him and was on the point of forcing him to deliver, under very disadvantageous circumstances, a battle which—if success had crowned his efforts—would have been fatal to Frederic, which would not only have secured the whole of lower Bavaria, but have recovered Silesia, when his hand was stayed in the most marvellous manner.

The story is thus graphically told by the Freiherr von Janko in his 'Life of Loudon.'

On September 13, information reached Loudon that Prince Henry had crossed the Elbe near Leitmeritz, and had taken a firm position. Exclaiming, 'Now, at last, I have the prince in the position in which, since the beginning of the war, I have wished to see him,' Loudon sent an express to the emperor to promise him, if he would send him only twelve battalions, he would finish the war. The emperor despatched the battalions; Loudon, meanwhile, had concentrated his troops; and, hearing that the battalions were proceeding by forced marches to join him, hastened from Münchengrätz to Benatek, crossed the Elbe at Brandeis, the Moldau at Weltrus, and on September 20 took up a position opposite Prince Henry at Budin. His position was in every respect most advantageous for an attack, one of his corps occupying a commanding post on the enemy's left, whilst his front and right were so placed that Prince Henry could not retreat without fighting, whilst, in case of defeat, his army had no means of escape.

I now relate, in the words of the author the incident which prevented the destruction of the Prussian army: 'With an overstrained anxiety everyone in both camps,' writes Von Janko, 'beheld the arrival of the moment which was to decide the question of superiority between the two generals, who, according to the judgment of the best-approved strategist,<sup>1</sup> had, during the Seven Years' War, made no mistakes. But just as he was preparing, on the 23rd, for an attack which should be decisive, Loudon was surprised by the arrival in his camp of the emperor. Joseph had come himself in order to soften, by his presence, the unpleasantness of the orders of which he was the bearer. The empress, absolutely determined to bring to an end by peaceful means the dispute between Frederic and herself, had commanded her son to

<sup>1</sup> Frederic himself. 'We all committed faults,' said he one day to his generals, speaking of the events of the Seven Years' War, 'except my brother Henry and Loudon.'

forbid at all costs the risking of a battle, even were a brilliant victory the certain consequence.' Maria Theresa, in fact, saw opposed to her only the warrior who, having robbed her of Silesia, had kept that province against all continental Europe; she did not realise the fact that Frederic was no longer the Frederic of Leuthen and Torgau, but an over-cautious warrior, fearing to risk much lest he should lose all; she dreaded lest, as in former days, a defeat should only make him more terrible in his revenge. On the eve, then, of a battle which could not have been lost, and which would, in its results, have amply avenged her earlier wrongs, she ordered Loudon to abstain. Loudon did abstain. Peace was concluded. Austria renounced her pretensions to the whole of lower Bavaria and was forced to be content with the acquisition of the Inn Circle and Braunau, a territory of about a hundred and ninety square miles. The fears of Maria Theresa had lost the opportunity of incorporating the whole of lower Bavaria and of recovering Silesia!

One more chance offered a few years before the outbreak of that great revolution which was to efface all the landmarks of continental Europe.

Joseph II. had never in his heart renounced the idea of incorporating Bavaria with the hereditary lands of his House. In 1784, events seemed peculiarly propitious to the carrying out of this idea. Frederic II. of Prussia was fast sinking, and there seemed no other ruler in Germany capable of thwarting the plan. That plan was to revive the idea mooted during the War of the Spanish Succession, to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria. Charles Theodore, the Elector of Bavaria, had, in the preceding year, expressed his willingness to accept the terms offered. He renewed that consent in January 1784. The exchange was to be absolute—the only point not decided was whether, as ruler of his new dominions, Charles Theodore should be called King of Burgundy or King of Austrasia. At any rate, he was to be a king. Again, however, did the nearest of kin, the Duke of Zweibrücken, step in to arrest the plan. He found a firm supporter in



Frederic of Prussia, who, to prevent the aggrandisement of the Austrian House at the expense of its neighbours, formed on July 3, 1785, with Saxony and Hanover a league called the Fürstenbund. To this league other smaller States afterwards adhered, but it was the accession to it of the Elector of Mainz which gave it a preponderating vote in the electoral college.

It seems to me that Austria missed here another great opportunity. By vigorous action the exchange might have been effected before the Fürstenbund could have been formed. The exchange once effected, no effort on the part of the German princes could have restored the *status quo ante*. Frederic was seventy-one, and his campaign of five years before had proved that he had lost the dash and energy which had made him so formidable. The war with France eight years later was to show that he had left no successor. Never, on the other hand, had Austria been more formidable than she was during the ten years which intervened between 1780 and 1790; never had her armies been so well equipped and so well disciplined. She had at their head, too, the illustrious Loudon, the general characterised by Frederic himself as the general who, on the side of Austria, had made no mistake during the Seven Years' War; and Loudon was to show, in his campaign against the Turks in 1788-9—by his conquest of Berbir and Belgrad—and later, in 1790, by the skill and celerity with which he concentrated 150,000 men on the borders of Silesia, that he had not degenerated—that he was still the man who had beaten Frederic at Kunnersdorf, who had forced the entire corps of Fouquet to lay down its arms at Landshut, and who had taken Schweidnitz under the very eyes of his great adversary. No—that was a lost opportunity. Joseph had come under the spell of the Czarina; and to obey her behests, the House of Austria once again sacrificed the substance in a vain effort to secure the shadow!

So much for the opportunities which, from the time of Charles V. to the outburst of the French Revolution, came to the House of Austria and which, from want of precision,

or from prejudice, or stupidity, or from lack of prescience, that House let slip. At any moment from 1704, the date of the battle of Blenheim, to 1711, she could have secured the exchange of the Netherlands, which were useless to her, for Bavaria, which would have secured for her the permanent leadership of Germany. Up to 1713 such an exchange was always possible. The want of political insight of the ministers of Joseph I. and the prejudices and obstinacy of Charles VI. alone prevented it. The same prejudices and the same obstinacy on the part of the same member of the House preferred the loose promises to respect the Pragmatic Sanction to a solution which would have incorporated Bavaria with the hereditary dominions of the House of Habsburg. In 1778, the weakness of Maria Theresa—a weakness based on a fearful recollection of the prowess of her great enemy and a forgetfulness of the fact that he, too, had aged, and that years had quenched his fire—prevented the delivery of a battle which, considering the fact that the greatest Austrian general had caught the Prussian army in a position in which its defeat was certain, might have given her more even than lower Bavaria; and again, in 1783, the want of nerve and dash on the part of Joseph II. allowed the formation of a league which, inaugurated after he had consummated his action, would have been powerless. Any one of these opportunities, taken at the flood, would have given the House of Austria predominance in Southern Germany—probably a permanent preponderance over all Germany. They can never recur.

Time will not allow me to enter upon the period which has elapsed since the outbreak of the great convulsion which changed the face of Europe. I may be allowed merely to state that in the last phases of the war which was its immediate consequence the diplomacy of Austria was again at fault. No Continental nation had displayed so much constancy, throughout, in the war with France as Austria. The directness of her policy contrasts very favourably with the shiftiness and hollow-heartedness, from 1791 to 1806, of her German rival; yet, at the close of the war the dominions of Prussia

received a large accession of territory in Germany, whilst Austria obtained little or nothing. Nor will time permit me to do more than glance at the possibilities which were before Austria in 1866. It was asserted at the time that she could have made a peaceful settlement of her differences with Prussia by accepting the boundary of the river Main as the boundary behind which her own influence was to be predominant, but this is, I think, more than doubtful. A curious circumstance brought me, at Gastein, in 1864, into communication with a nobleman then high in the confidence of the King of Prussia, and he sketched out to me a plan of policy with regard to Austria and to France, which, strangely enough, has since been realised even to its minutest detail. I believe that Prussia would then have accepted no terms which did not secure to her predominance over all Germany. But during the long negotiations which preceded the war, and in the conduct of the war itself, the defect, which paralysed her action before the Revolution, is apparent in the conduct of the House of Austria. Again did that House neglect the substance to pursue the shadow. It was the shadow of Venetia which this time enticed it. Had Austria frankly made peace with Italy on the basis of the concession of the quadrilateral, the army of Archduke Albert would have been available for the defence of the hereditary dominions, and it is not too much to believe that the field of Sadowa might have told a different tale.

With Sadowa the hopes of Austria to take the lead in Germany vanished. It has been the aim of the great statesman who crushed in 1866 the ambition of many centuries to turn her thoughts Eastward. Austria has seemed, during the past five years at all events, to lend a willing ear to his suggestions. The occupation of Bosnia, and the manner in which her statesmen direct their attention to Salonica, prove that the idea is gradually becoming national. To discuss the question—the question of the disposal of the spoils of the Turk, when the Turkish empire in Europe shall dissolve—would neither be possible nor advisable at this hour. The

solution of this question is one in which England is deeply interested ; and if, as I believe, there is a general consensus of opinion that Austria is the fittest custodian of the city of many waters, then I shall utter the thoughtful sentiment of the public when I express a hope that when the crisis does arrive the historian may not have to record another lost opportunity !

## THE TCHÔNG-YÔNG OF CONFUCIUS.

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON, TCHHING-TSÉ.

BY DR. G. G. ZERFFI, F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist. S., Chairman of Council  
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INTORZETTA was one of the first to give us a clear insight into the metaphysical writings of Confucius, whose Chinese name was Kung-Tzu (meaning Dr. Kung), and to show us that at all times, amongst all sages, philosophers, and teachers, the impressions of nature and the attempt to solve the destiny of man, as a being endowed with self-conscious intellect, produced analogous moral and philosophical results.

The most important of the works of Confucius is the 'Tchông-Yông' (written in 36 chapters and 365 verses), meaning, 'Spirit, the immutable first cause.' The title has been variously rendered by different writers: 'De medio sempiterno' (by Intorzetta); 'Immutabile medium' (by Noël); 'Juste milieu' (by a Chinese writer, Kó), 'L'invariable milieu' (by Rémusat); 'The Doctrine of the Mean' (by Dr. Legge); 'Der unwandelbare Seelengrund' (by Professor Plaenkner); 'Summa veritas' (by a commentator of Intorzetta); and 'The Immutable Aim' (by several other translators). The main difficulty of the Chinese language consists in the fact that one and the same word-sign may have many different significations according to its accentuation. The sign for 'PO,' when the syllable is pronounced with a smooth and equal accent, signifies *glass*; with a grave accent it means *to boil*; with an acute accent, *to winnow corn or rice*; with a circumflex, *sage, liberal, or prudent*; with a circumflex pointed, *to prepare*; when pronounced with a circumflex charged and aspirated, *an old woman*; with an equal accent aspirated, *to cleave or break*; with a grave accent aspirated, *never so little or almost*; with a circumflex aspirated, *to water a plant*; with a circum-

flex aspirated and pointed, a *slave* or *captive*. Rémusat had to devote four quarto pages of his 'Notices des Manuscrits' to the explanation of the sign 'SO,' and came at last to the conclusion that it *might* mean 'rechercher,' to search in general; whilst Dr. Morrison in his 'Dictionary' tells us that it means 'to search into *what is mysterious*.' Still more difficult is it to ascertain the sense of the sign 'ÿn,' of which Dr. Morrison gives twenty different significations, amounting with its synonyms to some fifty or sixty in all. A similar difficulty occurs in the accentuation of the sign 'Tchông,' for, if pronounced with a grave accent, 'Tchông,' it means 'scopus' (aim), but also 'scopum attingere' (to reach an aim, or spirit, or middle, medium, mean, soul), all of which notions may be connected with 'Yông' (immutable). The translation of the title would then be 'The Immutable Aim.' Noël adopted this rendering, remarking that 'if anyone had lived according to the principles of this doctrine he could not fail to reach the aim' ('tunc vix poterit a scopo aberrare').

The peculiarly stationary historical state of China and the character of the people were so admirably laid before us by Sir Richard Temple in the paper on 'Political Lessons of Chinese History,' which he read to this Society last session, that I thought a review of the Chinese 'Bible,' as the 'Tchông-Yông' may be called, would be acceptable as revealing the inner spiritual life of the rulers and teachers of the Chinese nation, especially as this inner life must shape all outer political conditions and actions. The past and present of any great empire are most intimately connected with the first principles on which its religious, social, and political organisation is established. Mode of education, ethics, and philosophy are the component historical elements of any nation.

Lord Brougham observes, in his 'Political Philosophy,' 'that the Chinese Empire presents to the eye, both of the common observer and of the political reasoner, the most singular spectacle in the whole social history of our species. . . . All this vast empire under a single head; its countless myriads of people yielding an obedience so regular and so mechanical,

that the Government is exercised as if the control were over animals, or masses of inert matter; the people all this while not only not plunged into rude ignorance, but actually more possessed of knowledge to a certain extent and more highly prizing it than any other nation in the world; the institutions of the country established for much above five-and-twenty centuries, and never changing or varying during that vast period of time; the inhabitants, with all their refinement and their early progress in knowledge and the arts, never passing a certain low point.'

The first cause producing this astounding effect is undoubtedly an ethnical one, as I fully explained in my paper 'On the Possibility of a Strictly Scientific Treatment of History,' contained in the third volume of our 'Transactions.' The next is education. I cannot help admiring the way in which the Chinese have organised their educational establishments; to every twenty-five houses there is a school-house, conducted by the most learned and virtuous inhabitant of one of the twenty five houses. These schools correspond to our board-schools. Every child when eight years old, without any distinction of position, wealth, or religious creed, must go to this school, called 'LI;' here they learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. Every fifty houses have a higher school called 'TAM.' To these schools those are sent who have distinguished themselves in morals, diligence, and learning; these schools correspond to our colleges; in them the students are instructed in the principles of ethics, mathematics, geography, and history. Those who excel in these middle schools are finally sent to the highest ones, one of which exists for every 2,500 houses, called 'CHEU,' corresponding to our universities. 1. Philosophers, 2. orators, 3. politicians, 4. teachers, and 5. poets, receive here the highest instruction, and are prepared for the competitive examinations which are the only means of obtaining a Government appointment. Virtue and learning thus seem to be the foundations of society in China. There are no less than 2,500,000 'literati' in the vast and thickly-populated empire. Assuming that only one in a



hundred were to write some sort of book, we should arrive at a total of 25,000 new works per annum. But are the writings of the Chinese *new* works? Unhappily they are merely commentaries, explanations, annotations, and amplifications of the ancient, sacred, and classical books. To endeavour continually to prove and to demonstrate that 'good is good' and 'bad is bad' does not lead to much knowledge. Our progressive evolution began with Francis Lord Bacon, who in exposing the monstrous idols of the past, the idols of the tribe, the cave, the market-place, and the theatre, contributed mightily to their slow and gradual extinction. Nature was to be henceforth the exclusive study of man—nature, in its principal element: matter, which was to be the sole subject of all our inquiries. Experiments on visible and tangible, ponderable or imponderable forces were to be our only means 'to know,' for all knowledge acquired by mere spiritual or metaphysical assumptions was declared to be a delusion and not worthy of our consideration. Bacon's ideas were worked out by Hobbes and Hume, modified by Newton and Locke, contradicted by Cartesius and Leibnitz, and at last brought into a strictly logical system by Kant. Progressive evolution in philosophy and science, in politics and morals, characterises our Western life. Immutable stagnation, based on ethics excluding all true science, distinguishes Eastern life. Individual thought has not with us been so sternly submitted to a universal will, represented by an *invisible* unit, inspiring and directing a *visible ruler* as in China.

In studying the 'Tchông-Yông' we find concentrated all the metaphysical and ethical elements which formed the religious and social foundations of the whole Oriental world, but in no part of it so completely as in China. The 'Tchông-Yông' treats of and explains 'Lý,' the spiritual foundation of all existing things, or the inner light of the world. 'Lý' is God's spirit in its own essence; it is also the Holy Ghost pervading the universe; and the breath of God breathed into man, and who therefore is said to be created in the image of God. The assertion that the Chinese only worship 'Tien,'

the material heaven, is altogether erroneous. 'Tien' means not only Heaven, but also 'Father,' 'Lord,' 'Master.' Heaven and God, the visible firmament and the invisible ruler, have with certain tribes one and the same designation. 'Tegri' stands for both with the Mongols; 'Num' with the Samoyedes; 'Jumala' with the Finns.<sup>1</sup> The Slavons call 'Heaven' the bright Sun-God; the Indians use 'Dyaus' (from which we have *θεός*, Deus, Dio, Dieu) for God and Heaven; the same was done by the Greeks and Romans; the Teutons used 'Ziu' or 'Tiu' as synonymous for God and Heaven. Among the East African tribes the word 'Waka,' 'Mungu,' 'Engoi,' with the Negroes 'Mulungu,' and with some Oceanic tribes 'Tongoloo,' stands for both God and Heaven. The more civilisation advances the more distinct become the notions of the ancient Trinity of the Egyptians, the mighty 'Three in One,' Creator, created, and creature. Even before Confucius Heaven was already looked upon as a mere outward representative of 'Taó,' a transcendental spirit pervading the Makrokosmos and the Mikrokosmos. 'Taó' meant originally a road, a high road to bliss, as in Hungarian the word *meny* (heaven) is derived from 'menni,' to go to; but figuratively 'Taó' means also principle, virtue, philosophy, good order, to guide, to speak,<sup>2</sup> and finally the universal spiritual force or power enabling us to be virtuous, philosophical, orderly, to speak and to act. *God* was the Father, the supreme Lord; *earth*, the loving mother. The *spirit* was 'Ly;' matter, the *body* was 'Kÿ.' At a later period 'Taó' became God, 'Yang,' primary force, and 'Yin,' primary matter. But *force* as the dynamic, and *matter* as the static element under the eternal laws of *Taó*, as the supreme wisdom, justice, and love, had been and will be the fundamental principles of the gradual historical evolution of humanity.

That this truth should have been recognised by Confucius in the sixth century B.C., and should have formed the basis of a state-organisation for more than 2,300 years, must be attri-

<sup>1</sup> See *Genesis der Menschheit*, by Prof. J. Froschhammer, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> See *China Opened*, by Ch. Gutzlaff, vol. i. p. 411.

buted not only to the truthfulness and correctness of his teachings, but above all to the sway of pure reason by which alone he allowed his writings to be inspired.

The metaphysical is there, but according to Tchhing-tsé, the grandson of Confucius and editor of 'Tchông-Yông,' as *Tchông*, truth; *Yông*, the eternal; and *Taó*, the deity. 'Whoever studies with diligence, fervour, and reflection the Tchông-Yông will become conscious of its contents, but if anyone were to devote the whole of his life to the study of it, he would never be capable of grasping entirely its deep meaning.' There is something mystic and dogmatic in the speculations of Confucius, and the book is an exclusively religious one, in which practical virtue and wisdom are enforced on every page. Man has received from heaven, as a gift, intellect, through which he became a partaker of the divine nature, and to acquaint ourselves with 'Taó' is 'Kiáo,' 'Religion.' In order to avoid recognising the existence of a Chinese 'religion,' the translators used for 'Kiáo' doctrine, instruction, precept, duty, &c. The Greeks conceived their gods in the form of men. The divine was humanised in opposition to the Oriental spirit, which generally described the Deity as an unrelenting, bloodthirsty monster. Confucius elevates man through intellect, a gift from God, into godlikeness which must be sought for in making ourselves acquainted with 'Taó's' essence. 'Taó' is also 'Lý' (the spirit of God), 'Ming' (the will of God pervading and influencing the world), and 'Sing' (God's spirit ruling nature and man). These *three in one* may be considered as a clear consciousness of a Trinity, the Indian Trimurty; the Egyptian mystery of Osiris, Isis, and Horus; the Greek Triad (Zeus, Poseidon, and Aidoneus); Intorzetta's 'ternarium principium'; Rémusat's 'Troisième terme'; Dr. Legge's 'Ternion' (?). Heaven, earth, and self-conscious man, pervaded by God's breath of life, form a harmonious whole, the understanding of which in their mutual interdependence is recommended in the Tchông-Yông as the principal task of man's study and thorough civilisation. 'The wise man has, therefore, to examine with the greatest diligence

his inner spiritual life, though it may be imperceptible to his senses.' For 'Taó,' though far away, is always present in the righteous and perfect man who strives to know his own innermost thoughts, feelings, and emotions. 'Joy and delight, anger and wrath, grief and sadness, pleasure and happiness, of which we are not yet quite conscious, are slumbering faculties of our soul which, when bursting into consciousness, we have to regulate by our will and reason in order to produce a moral and intellectual harmony in us and around us.'<sup>1</sup> The harmony is to be the same immutable harmony which is visible in the sun and moon and the other heavenly bodies. With all the loftiness of conception this harmony in us and around us engendered those mechanical and petrified moral principles which hindered all true intellectual progress. The static or moral force has been exclusively developed, fostered, and cultivated in China, and the dynamic or intellectual—the reasoning power—neglected. Though Confucius strove to establish a proper balance between the two, he failed, because although he asserted in a philosophical spirit that man should continually attempt to acquire the highest knowledge by means of reason, yet he wrote in so abstruse and metaphysical a style that only very few of the most learned could understand him, and his book became, like so many other mystic records, a tool in the hands of the Government, their officials and literati, to coerce the masses into blind faith and implicit obedience.

The Emperor was and is to be looked upon as 'Taó'—the representative of the invisible 'Taó.' The ministers and inner council became 'Yang,' the primary governing force, and the people 'Yin,' primary matter, to be acted upon by 'Taó' and 'Yang.' A hierarchy was thus founded which in its coercive power was stronger than any of the hierarchies ever established under any other religious or political system. As the *spirit* of the Deity was all-pervading, the absolute and despotic *will* of the Emperor became omnipresent. Travellers, Jesuits, and missionaries have often endeavoured to represent the

<sup>1</sup> Chap. i. v. 9, 10.

upper layers of Chinese society as atheists, and yet the very contrary is the true fact; because the Emperor and the 'literati' firmly believe that they have the divine spirit, the *soul*, 'as the eternal and immutable first cause,' not only inherent, but also thinking, working, and acting in themselves, and that only 'fools, though they are possessed of a soul (God's spirit), do neither care for it nor cultivate it,'<sup>1</sup> and must be ruled with a rod of iron by those living 'gods' on earth. To love God, virtue, our fellow-creatures, and truth, is peremptorily demanded by rulers and ruled; with this difference that the rulers firmly believe that they possess that love, whilst the ruled must be taught it and unrelentingly compelled to practise it. Confucius could not have been so sure of this divine spirit pervading the many, because he asserted 'that unhappily for a long time there will be only very few to recognise the "Tchông-Yông" (the immutable spirit), and to draw from this cognition the last conclusions.'<sup>2</sup> But notwithstanding such assertions of humility, forbearance, and modesty, pronounced by some great teacher, the disciples generally find out that they belonged to those *very few* who knew everything, and were capable of effecting that spiritual and political, religious and ethical harmony which ought to serve as a basis for the social organisation of men. Whilst the Indians, Egyptians, and Greeks had many gods, as so many personifications or incarnations of the bountiful or hostile forces of nature, the Chinese have in every virtuous emperor, minister, official, and philosopher—nay, in every good and well-regulated household in a father or son, a mother or daughter—a living incarnation of 'Taó.'

This proud assumption is not 'atheism,' but the most diffused 'pan-theism,' or rather 'andro-theism.' Hero-worship, deification of man in one form or another, is nowhere so prevalent as in China. 'YAO' (about 2357 B.C.) was held up as the most virtuous of mortals, who proclaimed the kingdom of virtue and wisdom on earth, and was himself called 'Tiên-tsè,' son of heaven, or son of God. He was said to have been

<sup>1</sup> Chap. ii. v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. iii. v. 18.

amongst all men nearest to God; he loved his people like *children*, and was worshipped by his people as a *father*. He combined in himself piety, intellect, and true virtue, qualities that exalt a human being and bring him nearest to his Creator. Yet his example was not always imitated, and Confucius accounts for this failing in man by saying that 'those who know, sin against "Taó," and those who do not know, are heedless of him'—'for all people eat and drink, but only very few have real taste.' In this sentence we might trace a certain analogy between 'Confucianism' and Christianity—'Many are called but few are chosen'—with this difference, that through Christianity everyone was free to become one of the chosen by his own moral exertions, whilst with the Chinese the Emperor and his officials determine what is taste.

One-sidedness and ignorance exercise a most baneful influence on the general progress of humanity. Blinded by prejudices, historians unfortunately endeavour to trace the *differences* between nations and nations, religious systems, political and social organisations, instead of collecting, comparing, and explaining *analogies*, in order to prove the wondrous physiological, metaphysical, and psychological 'sameness' in humanity. In the 'Tchōng-Yōng' we find the same exalted principles as in the teachings of Sokrates, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Plotinus, Thomas Aquinas, Thomas à Kempis, Eckhart, Jacob Boehm, Francis Lord Bacon, Hume, and Kant, and must ask ourselves what were the causes that made these principles produce such totally different effects? Notwithstanding all dialectical analogies between philosophers and teachers, it will be found that they always follow one of two principal paths. Some start with *nature*, others with *spirit*. And though Confucius, so far as we can see, consistently wished his nature to be inspired by spirit, yet with his disciples and followers 'Yin' soon became of supreme importance, and 'Yan, 'Taó,' or 'Lý' had to play a secondary and very subordinate part in the economy of the moral and intellectual state of society. We

may thus trace to a mechanical and unconscious practice of virtue and morals that stationary condition of the uniform stagnation of the empire which is so prominent a characteristic of China. Had we ourselves continued one-sidedly to cultivate dialectics, 'this purest part of our intellect and the most precious part of philosophy,' according to Plotinus, we should have remained as stationary and immovable as the Chinese.

Confucius saw the threatening evil of one-sidedness, and warned those <sup>1</sup> who pretended to know everything concerning 'Taó,' and who persuaded themselves as well as others with dialectical tricks, sophisms, and equivocations, of their own goodness and wisdom, and their knowledge of the immutable first cause of the Universe, that they were not capable of being faithful to it for *one* month.

In analogy with the teachings of Christianity the 'Tchông-Yông' recommends 'gentleness, generosity, and equanimity,' or 'humility,'<sup>2</sup> as surpassing both the power and courage of the Southerners or Northerners. 'Heroism and contempt of death are in no one better united than in the wise man; for with him fortitude of soul and character are based on supreme truth, and nothing will induce him to forsake her.' That such principles must have produced those innumerable incidents of self-sacrifice, and willingness to yield to nothing but firm conviction, in which Chinese history abounds, cannot be doubted for a moment. It produced, however, also a stolid carelessness of life, and an obstinacy of principles most detrimental to real progress. The son thinks and acts as his father and forefathers did thousands of years ago.

That Confucius excluded the mysterious, incomprehensible, enigmatic, strange, miraculous and 'supernatural,' from his teachings was injurious to the progressive evolution of the Chinese. There was nothing left to doubt, nothing to inquire into. Scepticism, the very soul of science, was in China impossible. This will serve as a further explanation of the strange phenomenon that, whilst the supernatural was also-

<sup>1</sup> Chap. vii. v. 30, 31.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. x. v. 41-46.



gether discarded from the discussions of the Chinese philosophers, the masses are so ready to believe any spiritual incongruity taught by some of the Buddhistic sects. Coarse realism, or materialism, and spiritual idiotcy generally go hand in hand, because the true 'Tchōng' is not understood. We find in China, side by side with barren chronicles of facts and dates, the most childish ghost-stories. Wherever and whenever the reasoning faculty and the spirit of scientific inquiry are checked by dry facts, and still drier records, biographies and court-anecdotes, or where no allowance is made for the part played by common mortals in fashioning the spirit of the times and the affairs of this world, the effect will be an exclusion and banishment of general history from all educational establishments. Hero-worship or a deification of autocrats, in one shape or another, will be the consequence, turning the masses of the people into puppets, as in China, or into mere voting machines as in some Western countries.

The optimistic views of an inborn conscience and virtue held by Confucius, though honourable and generous, did much to give the people an immovable character. Conscience and a sense or understanding of virtue must be slowly and gradually evolved in man. Otherwise the effect of a mere assumption of universal goodness may work as prejudicially as the degrading supposition of the original wickedness and depravity of man. The irresistible influence exercised by the 'Tchōng-Yōng' may be ascribed to the patriarchal system of government worked out by Confucius, on the principle 'to treat others honestly, sincerely, faithfully and truthfully, as we wish to be treated by them,' which is stated to be nothing but a corollary of the Immanence of 'Taó' in man. In the same spirit as Christianity, Confucius demands 'that we should not do unto others what we wish that they should not do unto us.'<sup>1</sup> The enactment is in the *negative* form, whilst the law of Christianity is *affirmative*. Great stress has been laid on this difference, which after all is merely rhetorical and formal, whilst the inner spirit of the law remains the same. A

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xiii. v. 64.

restricted meaning of the law immediately follows the general precept, for the injunction 'not to do unto others, &c.' is only to apply to four divisions of humanity. 1. To sons in relation to their fathers; 2. To subjects in relation to their princes; 3. To younger brothers in relation to their elder ones; 4. To friends and companions of the same age in relation to friends and companions of the same age. The duties of fathers to their sons; of princes to their subjects; of elder brothers to their younger ones, are not touched upon, and it is difficult to determine the meaning of the word 'friends.' This ambiguous law affords us again a deep insight into the difference between Confucian and Christian ethics. Confucius was modest enough to confess that he was not able to observe the precept in relation to any of the four divisions, though he strove through self-knowledge (psychology) and the knowledge of mankind (anthropology and history), to attain the power of acting unto others as he wished that they should act unto him.

Laò-tsè, a contemporary of Confucius in the sixth century B.C., who was far more mystic and metaphysical in his teachings, exhorted us in a more general sense 'to love our fellow-creatures;' but the question at once presents itself: Who are our fellow-creatures? All will depend on the broadness of the answer which *each* individual will give to this question. Are fellow-creatures only those who are born in the same village, district, province, or country as ourselves? Only those who have the same opinions as we, who perform the same ceremonies in worshipping their ancestors, who believe in tutelary spirits and mischievous imps, or only those who are of the same rank, possess the same wealth, have the same learned position as ourselves, or who are thoroughly virtuous wise, and good like us? Christianity has an analogous enactment in a different spirit and form: 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' Narrow-minded sectarians all over the world have modified the meaning of the word 'neighbour,' which included every *human creature*, and given it a narrower signification, the narrower the greater their bigotry; but in spite of their

efforts this law may be considered one of those which in modern times has done more for the progress of science and true Christianity than any other.

Contemplation, meditation, and passive submission to the fate allotted to each individual, has been instrumental in destroying the intellectual activity of the nearly four hundred millions of Chinese. Confucius says: 'Let the wise be wise, the rich be rich, the poor be poor, and each fulfil his duty in his station in the realm, and he will find happiness.' This enactment is again one of the main causes of the strangely stationary character of the Chinese Empire. This submission to the position in which we are born could never have produced any progress if acted upon in the West. The '*Beatus est qui procul negotiis*' of Horace may be true in a decaying nation, consoling herself with beatitude and peace when she ought to work and spread civilisation. Everywhere we trace in China the utter neglect of the intellectual reasoning faculty in man.

Whenever Confucius treats of family relations he is unsurpassed in his enactments. 'Love, friendship, harmonious joy and peace are to unite father, mother, children, and children's children, and lead them to the true worship of the Most High.'<sup>1</sup> And yet this sublime law led to that particular despotism which turned the whole of the nation into children with wrinkled faces, who have lost all self-reliance. The Emperor is the Father, the visible 'Taó' on earth, the central luminary, the sun; the Empress, the moon; the ministers and privy councillors are the fixed stars; the mandarins of the different classes, the planets of different magnitudes; and the people, the dispersed, unconscious nebulae, working, toiling in the sight of the Father, like bees in a hive. But human beings cannot be treated as if they were mere cosmical automatons. That the Father of four hundred millions of children treats them all alike is true, but in this treatment what injustice is not committed? Ministers, if they consciously or unconsciously make a mistake, are

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xv, v. 88, 89.

punished often like the greatest criminals. Capital punishment and the bastinado are continually at work, and make high and low equally callous and passively submissive. The 'Tchông-Yông' asserts 'that only love' should rule supreme, and yet in practice this 'love' shows itself in cruelty and tyranny, and uses 'fear' as the only means of governing.

Religion and philosophy are said to be closely united in China; the transcendental and practical are welded into *one* by universal love: but is this a fact? We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the assertions of some of those who saw nothing but happiness and contentment in China, or of those who saw nothing but despair, infanticide, and suicide. The duty of historians is to discover the causes of this *outward* stationary state of the empire in general, with so much *inward* spiritual perfection in the individual. The Chinese have great wealth. They made inventions in different technical branches at a very early period. They possess a code of morals older and not inferior to that of any other nation. They knew how to weave silk, and to make paper of rice, and invented gunpowder and the art of printing, long before we did. Their agriculture and system of irrigation and drainage are perfect. They were taught a dim notion of the highest ideal of humanity, 'to unite in ONE through a correct notion of "Taó" all the principles of morals with a perfect consciousness of the true nature of God.'<sup>1</sup> This ideal of a man was more distinctly defined in a prophetic spirit by Laò-tsè, 'as one who would bear the dust of the world and yet be the Lord of lords,' 'who would take upon himself the wretchedness' (we might say the cross) 'of the world, and yet be the king of the universe.' They have enactments against superstitions or cabalistic calculations. They are forbidden to believe in signs foreshadowing fortune or misfortune, to burn herbs in a turtle-shell to predict the future, and they admit 'that only the wise man knows what good must come.'<sup>2</sup> Yet they cultivate mysticism and have no lack of dogmatists; hyperbolic speculations abound with

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xii. v. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xxiv. v. 223.

them ; in many of their books they soar in imagination high above space and time ; in fact, their ethical principles do not differ from our own, their superstitions are as variegated as some of those of the distant West. They have prophets, saints, angels, and demons. Their wise men teach humanity, justice, conformity, uprightness, and sincerity, the most exalted notions of human perfection. Truth is spoken of 'as imperishable and eternal. What is imperishable and eternal is infinite and immeasurable. The infinite and immeasurable is sublime and wise. The infinite and immeasurable comprises all beings. The infinite and immeasurable protects and preserves all beings. In its eternal duration it makes all beings perfect.'<sup>1</sup> It might be asserted that this passage of Confucius refers only to the material universe, and does not apply to a supreme ruling spirit ; but Laò-tsè is more explicit, and says in the 'Taó-tè-King,'<sup>2</sup> 'Sublime is the Being round which the universe and everything in it revolves ; it must have been from eternity, and, as it is eternal, it must be omnipresent.' Neither St. Augustine nor any other mediæval or modern scholar could define the Deity better. It is no exaggeration to say that the Chinese possess all the fundamental ethical, philosophical, and religious principles which, as such, rule the minds of the thinkers and teachers of all nations, and yet with them these principles have produced a quite exceptional result.

The most striking cause of this phenomenon is that the Chinese, once brought under the dominion of the *past*, neglected the *present*. They were taught to look backwards. Their perfect moral code was turned into a dry multiplication table, which in its regular working produced the same results if the component coefficients were the same. But the people never became conscious of their subjective rights ; they never learned to know freedom ; the masses remained 'noughts,' with one temporal and spiritual unit before them. Much that is speculative is contained in the 'Tchōng-Yōng,' enabling translators and commentators to read anything into

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxvi, v. 236-241.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xxv.

it, or anything out of it. It is, however, a stationary book, and in spite of its exciting arguments it never succeeded in separating the external and the internal laws of Nature. The kingdom of God and the kingdom of the Emperor are one. Man's internal monitor and judge, self-conscious conviction, is neither taken into consideration nor brought into free activity. Law with us grows out of the internal sanction of the intellectually active majority of the people, who endeavour to solve the most complicated social problems, not in a mere mechanical, but above all in a logical and historical manner.

We do not respect our rulers less than the Chinese do, but we do not assume that everything ordained by our rulers is absolutely and necessarily correct. We obey, if we are able subjectively to confirm the benefit of a law; we alter, or altogether abolish laws, and none of our rulers could demand of us to look upon a law as inherently binding for ever because it had once been passed. This subjective intellectual freedom in conflict with the moral enactments of past ages has produced the vitality and continually progressive evolution of our civilisation. The balance of statics and dynamics has been disturbed for thousands of years in China. All was to be moral; all man's intellectual faculties manifesting themselves as imagination, emotion, enthusiasm, spirit of doubt and inquiry, and an irresistible longing for the ideal, were altogether ignored and neglected.

The works of Confucius have absorbed the whole spiritual vitality of the Chinese. It was in vain that the Mongol Tsin-Ché-Hoang-ti, 221 B.C., a kind of eastern Napoleon I., attempted to reform the state of China by abolishing fiefs and confiscating the whole of the land, and re-selling it in plots so as to create small landed-proprietors in order to break the feudal condition of the Empire. Every one of his subjects was allowed to sell and to bequeath land; he attempted to check the power of the quarrelling, arguing, speculating, and moralising 'literati'; ordered the calendar to be changed; introduced different weights and measures, a new method of arithmetic, and a new harmony with new

songs and hymns. He did not dare to touch the family relations and the ancestral worship of the Chinese. He ordered a universal disarmament of the people, and established a vast standing army. He had statistical accounts drawn up, concerning the revenue and expenses, and the population of the different provinces and districts of the Empire; he had high-roads constructed, canals regulated; embellished towns and villages, and at last decreed the collection and burning of the Holy Books. He intended to encourage the people to intellectual enterprise and activity, and though he could not well alter the ethical principles of the ancient Sacred Books, he hoped to put an end to the everlasting repetition of analytical commentaries on certain topics, engendering sophistry, word-cavilling, intolerance, uncharitableness, hatred, and strife. But his stupendous efforts all proved vain. Some of the 'literati' endured the horrors of persecution, lived a life of misery and privation, retired to woods, and hidden in caves saved the Holy Books, and reintroduced them triumphantly under Tsin-Ché-Hoang-ti's successor, Leu-pang, the founder of the Han dynasty.

Since that time the one-sided static culture of the Chinese has proceeded uninterruptedly. Boys have to learn the Maxims of Confucius by heart; students to write essays on single sentences, and the doctors deem it the highest glory to compose an abstruse dissertation, full of high-sounding words, often without any meaning on some doubtful passage.

Dynasty succeeded dynasty, and the people were kept in stationary dependence and a blind idolatry of the living 'Taó,' the Emperor and his myrmidons. No history, no philosophy, and no religious system of any other nation, dangerous to the uncontrolled central power, was studied or tolerated.

We may learn from China how Formalism may go hand in hand with the highest moral principles without promoting any true intellectual and scientific progress; for the people in China are exclusively forced to fulfil sacred *duties*, whilst they are kept in utter ignorance of the fact that they also



have sacred *rights*. The state-abstraction is nothing without the liberty of each single citizen ; for states are established for the welfare of the citizen, and not the citizen for the support of an absolute irresponsible central power. The most terrible conspiracies, wars, and revolutions, the decline and fall of once mighty empires, must be attributed to this social and political mistake.

The Greeks with their primary attempts at ethics, philosophy, science, and with their often contradictory metaphysical speculations, served Humanity far more than any teachers of merely moral laws ; for the Greeks stimulated our thinking and inquiring faculty, which had been wasted by other nations for thousands of years, consuming an incredible amount of brain power and material wealth, and leaving the masses of the people in ignorance and slavery.

The more we devote ourselves to an unbiassed study of history, the more we shall become convinced that even the most sublime ideas and laws of a 'Tchông-Yông,' if they promote one-sidedly the culture of morals, cannot save a nation from the evils of an autocratic despotism. On the other hand, a neglect of morals, and a one-sided culture of intellect, will invariably lead to whimsical illusions, politico-economical vagaries, and the ultimate dissolution of any national body. 'In medio veritas.' Political happiness and progress are only possible if morals and intellect are evenly balanced in individuals as well as in nations.

## HISTORICAL SUGGESTIONS IN THE ANCIENT HINDU EPIC, THE MAHÁBHÁRATA.

By CHARLES J. STONE, F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist. S.

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THIS word is a combination of mahá, great, and bhárata, supporter. Bhárata is the ancient name of northern Hindustan, and was derived from a celebrated early monarch. This 'great supporter' poem extends in length to about 215,000 long lines, as Professor Monier Williams of Oxford has observed. Milton's 'Paradise Lost' only contains about 10,600. Even the voluminous Spenser's 'Fairy Queen' has not more than some 30,000. It is ascribed to a celebrated ancient Sage, who is also recorded to have compiled the Vedas (*i.e.* books of knowledge), and to have written the Puranas (*i.e.* 'ancient' books of the Hindu religions), which belong to phases of religious thought subsequent to the Vedic but professing to be associated with the Vedas. As his name simply means 'collector or compiler,' it is suggestive of his being mythical. Introductory recitals, in the poem itself, assign it to Vyāsa, just as Washington Irving ascribes his 'History of New York' to Knickerbocker. Vaisampayana is said to have recited it to a king, and may have been the author. Modern commentators of late years seem generally to have assigned it to several authors. Comparing it, however, with the Waverley novels, as the work of one man, it does not seem beyond the capacity of a single author. Fifteen years' labour, about the time bestowed by Gibbon on his 'History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' would complete the work at the rate of some fifty lines per diem, allowing for holy days. It is written in what is styled the classical Sanscrit. It contains an account of a great

dynastic war, the heroes of its pages being claimed as ancestors by the old royal families of Hindustan. But there is considerable suggestiveness in it of the whole being allegorical, a sort of gigantic 'Pilgrim's Progress;' because the names of the personages are usually in accordance with their attributes, like Bunyan's Mr. Double-facing-both-ways, Mr. Morality, Mr. Ready-to-halt, &c. There is, at all events, considerable doubt as to whether any history of value can be obtained from it, so far as the origin of dynasties or the precise purport of the great war described in it. But it is full of interesting historical suggestions of the life of our Aryan cousins, the ancient inhabitants of Bhárata, now Hindustan. We find suggestions of our religion, philosophy, our mediæval chivalry, and of our ancient English skill with the long bow, &c. The descriptions of the palaces and cities suggest high and refined skill in architecture. We see allusions to theatricals which seem to have appertained to the style of those of modern Europe rather than to those of Greece, or of the monkish mysteries. And the accounts of the eating and drinking would not disgrace the period in the estimation of either a modern glutton or gourmet. They eat venison, and even the now sacred beef, and they drink wine, rum, and arrack. Long lists of dainty dishes are given, and their banquets altogether appear to have been of an elaborate and civilised nature. The epoch of the Mahábhárata is by the Hindus themselves assigned to about 3000 B.C., at which period the events which it describes are supposed to have taken place. The first generations of Sanscrit scholars ascribed it to somewhere between the 13th and 5th centuries B.C. The later generations seem to place it at some date between the 5th century B.C. and the 5th century A.D. Whether written a thousand years ago, or three thousand, the elaboration of all the details of the civilisation described in it seems complete. The display of philosophical research and moral science is varied and extensive, and the whole suggests a vast old civilisation on the plains of the upper Ganges and Jumna, which would seem to have required some

such approximate period as 20,000 years to have grown up from crude culture. Sir Walter Scott's novels could only have been produced in an age refined by many generations of civilisation. And the Mahábhárata would similarly seem to have required a cultured epoch for its production.

It is difficult to conceive that it could have been indited after the Buddhism of Ashoka, in the 3rd century B.C., had covered the land with Buddhist monasteries. Still less does it, in its internal evidence, look like a work which an author could have written when India, north and south, was so full of Buddhist monasteries as it was in the 5th and 7th centuries of our era. To these we have the remarkable testimony of the Chinese pilgrims, Fah Hian and Hiouen Thsang. There appear to be allusions in it to what may be called archaic Buddhism, but it suggests the Buddhism of its early days, before it had bloomed into councils and hierarchies. It is difficult to conceive that the author would have introduced a Yavana king, as he has introduced one, after this word had been applied to the Greeks, and after the great Yavana Alexander had invaded the land. He styles him the black Yavana, and relates a legend of him certainly suggested by nothing in the Bactrian Greek history. This seems a prototype of Washington Irving's story of the long sleep. The Yavana king, pursued by Krishna, takes refuge in a cave, where he awakes a monarch who has been enchanted by slumbering since the world's last age. The Yavana is killed and the awakened sleeper much astonished at the changed aspect of men and manners. If the conjecture may be approximately true that it was produced at about the 5th century B.C., we must certainly acknowledge a very high civilisation in India in the time of Pericles of Greece. The author of the poem asserts that it is a compilation of all existing legends and stories. These have been illustrated by him, or the several authors, in a multitude of discourses, religious, philosophical, appertaining to the regions of moral philosophy as well as metaphysical, &c., &c. With regard to materialistic matters, Dr. Hunter, author of works on Orissa,

&c., has observed that glass was already known to the Hindus in the time of the Mahábhárata. We read that at the regal assemblage of Yudishthira (*i.e.* Firm in battle), the chief of the princes celebrated in the poem, one of the royal pavilions was paved with black crystal, which the chief of the other side, Prince Duryodhana (*i.e.* Difficult to conquer), on entering mistook for water, and drew up his garments lest he should be wetted. I believe that the same story is related of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba; with this addition, that the floor was so designed that she might be compelled to display the symmetry of her limbs.

'Firm in battle' is the eldest and chief of five virtuous princes, who are deprived of their possessions by wicked princes, but afterwards reinstated by means of the great war. Their history terminates by their all making a sort of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress towards the Indian heaven in the Himalayas; having experienced the vanity of all earthly aspirations, and only longing for the blissful repose of heaven. Curiously, and indicative apparently of the antiquity of the legend, the five are wedded to one wife, the Princess Draupadi. But as the five brothers are all narrated to be incarnations of various forms of Indra, the Hindu Jupiter, the impersonation of the Firmament, the story becomes less contrary to the ordinary Hindu ideas than it would otherwise be. In this king 'Firm in battle's' palace, banquets are described as consisting of venison and the wild boar, with fruits, sweetmeats, and various potations. The company is entertained with instrumental music, singing, and dancing. The palace is described as immense and beautiful, adorned with statues and precious stones, and surrounded with lakes, lovely with the blue and crimson lotus. The Sage Narada, a kind of Hindu Mercury, visits the princes. He is declared to be versed in all the ancient histories, expert in logic, and greatest of doctors in his knowledge of the six philosophical treatises, acquainted with the true nature of peace and war, and capable of absorption by contemplation in that One who is at the same time Two and Many. He

tenders the king the following advice concerning the royal duties.

I venture to contend that it displays a knowledge of the highest duties of kingcraft, of the duties as well as what may be styled the constitutional powers and privileges of a monarch, and that it indicates an ancient, settled, and thoughtful civilisation.

'Let thy ministers,' he says, 'who should be well acquainted with the treatises on politics, carefully keep secret thy councils. Let thy kingdom be securely defended, that it may not be even insulted by enemies.' Then he inquires whether the king's fortresses are well stored with water, corn, arms, engines of war, soldiers, workmen and money. Does his arch-brahmin duly announce the times of sacrifice, and, after proper ablutions, does he explain to him the position of the stars? Is the general of his army truly a hero, are his officers skilled in the use of arms, and does he give his army a proper allowance of pay and rations? 'For,' remarks the Sage, 'if the day passes without their receiving either pay or rations, the soldiers may behave in a manner suggested by the indigence of their royal master; which has been recognised as a cause of very great evils.' When he marches to meet the enemy, the king is to be careful to throw out advance guards, and also to protect the rear of his army. 'But,' the Sage philosophically demands, 'do you conquer yourself before attempting to vanquish others? March valiantly,' he continues, 'to battle, but when you have gained the victory, become yourself the protector of your enemy.'

The king must have secretaries to regulate his expenses. He is asked whether his societies of handicraftsmen are composed of honest folk; for it is only by the practice of the arts and handicrafts that the world can exist in easy prosperity. Are his villages formed for defence after the fashion of the towns? Are his decrees proclaimed in the midst of the assembly of the people? Is he surrounded by a bodyguard, in red and splendid attire, with sabre in hand? Then inquiries are made concerning his medical men; and he is

warned against materialism, falsehood, rage, negligence, sloth, and idleness ; and against such persons as avoid those who possess knowledge. The Sage further inquires whether the tax-collectors have recourse to impositions, such as extorting false dues from foreign merchants who visit the country ; whether the king looks into the condition of agriculture ; whether regular relief is extended to labourers, and protection given to the blind, idiots, &c.

Krishna, the great Hindu incarnation of the divine upon earth, appears throughout the poem. This word is said to mean the dark one, though its derivation appears to be unknown, and he is usually represented as of a dark blue colour, apparently indicative of the deep azure of infinite space. But he is addressed by many names, especially as Hari, which appears to mean the shining one ; or by the name of his father, Vasudeva, which signifies he who abides in all creatures. He is said to be styled Naráyana, from his march upon the waters ; Vishnu, as the all-pervading. He is adored as the white lotus, the supreme habitation, the immortal and imperishable god with the blue lotus eyes. He assists at the birth of every being, good or evil. He names each creature, for he possesses the science of everything. He reposes in truth, and truth in him. He is styled Govinda (the Pastor) and the Eternal Duty.

When the marriage of his friends the Pandavas, Yudishthira, or 'Firm in battle,' and his brothers, takes place, an arch-brahmin presides in the sacramental ceremony at the sacred fire, and offers prayers. The wedding procession is described as gorgeous with robes, bouquets, ornamented cars, golden garlands, &c. The antiquity of the custom of bestowing presents upon the bride and bridegroom is illustrated by the enumeration of the gifts sent upon this occasion by the divine Prince Krishna. These consisted of golden ornaments embellished with precious stones, costly vestments, tissues of various countries, coverlets of furs, and glittering gems. He also sent couches and chairs of various kinds, hundreds of vases incrustated with diamonds and lapis-lazuli, accompanied



by servants born in many countries, endowed with youth, beauty, and good manners, and splendidly attired. He also presented them with well-trained elephants of great size, with horses excellent, well-trained and richly adorned, and with cars handsomely embellished and resplendent with golden studs. Finally he sent a quantity of unstamped gold, and millions of golden pieces of money. On another occasion, amongst the presents bestowed by Krishna are enumerated cars drawn by four horses with garlands of bells, and with coachmen who have been instructed by able masters; also 1,000 radiant damsels, with 100,000 horses from the district of Balkh.

On one occasion Krishna describes the manner of besieging a fortified town. He mentions its arched gateways, arsenals, wide streets and engines of war; moats surround it, and it is also defended by palisades. The attacking army encamps everywhere around it, except in the cemeteries and temples of the deities. He observes that the true warrior will never abandon the field of battle. He will not strike one who has already been smitten to the ground, nor one who renders himself prisoner, nor an old man, nor a warrior who flies with his weapons broken. Flights of arrows are described as concealing everything in their density like clouds. Cuirasses, helmets, and many weapons are enumerated. Amongst various species of lances, swords, &c., appears a word (*bhouçoundis*), which M. Eugène Burnouf, and other commentators, have held to mean firearms.

The tumult of a vast encampment is powerfully described. Market-places are established in the camp, doctors and surgeons are mentioned, duly provided with instruments and learned in the treatises of medicine. Cars, armoured elephants, cavalry and infantry are numbered by tens of thousands. The district selected for the camp is well watered, shaded by woods, with abundance of turf. The king surrounds it with cemeteries, temples, altars, &c., and then constructs a palace for himself. Mountains of weapons are provided—bows and arrows, coats of mail, maces, battle-axes, iron arrows, sabres, standards, &c. The warriors have vest-

ments ornamented with gold, and even golden cuirasses and coats of mail. If they had not, in those days, quite arrived at the deadly neatness of the breechloading rifle—if they had not quite reached the ingenuity of Christian culture in designing engines of destruction—they had, at all events, manifested considerable skill. Besides the varieties of spears, axes, and swords, they had arrows shot through tubes as well as from ordinary bows, they had shells filled with boiling water, and they threw from their chariots burning balls. The proportion of the troops is stated to have been one car to ten elephants, ten horsemen to each elephant, seven foot soldiers to each horseman. That the general equipment of the whole was brilliant may be inferred from the infantry being described as wearing golden garlands.

In the successive days of the great fight, the army is related to have been drawn up in different orders of battle—in the form of a half moon, a cross, a lotus, an eagle with its wings outstretched, and other fanciful forms. The uproar of the battle is heightened by the sound of the drums and conch shells. Flaming darts are thrown. The cavalry are armed with swords and barbed javelins. Allowing for the exaggeration of the poet, his description of the archery can only have been suggested by a degree of skill not surpassed by our own bowmen of the Cressy and Poitiers period. Heroes even send showers of arrows from their chariots with their single bows, such is the rapidity of their fire. Their aim is so exquisite that they are described as cutting in sunder lances hurled at them, or other arrows in their flight. Arrows with a crescent head are used for slicing purposes. After the *mêlée*, in confusion upon the field of battle are emblazoned banners, the embroidered caparisons of horses, and rich coverlets of various colours, javelins, maces, tridents, hooks to seize the golden ornaments of the enemy, arrows feathered with gold, golden cuirasses, tiaras and helmets, swords inlaid with gold with ivory hilts, amidst bodies, decapitated heads with their earrings, aigrettes, &c., bâtons of command made of lapis-lazuli or other precious stones, turbans of divers hues,

with golden half-moon crests, &c., &c. Surgeons are mentioned as coming with their instruments to extract the arrows from the wounded. The chieftains are said to ascend their chariots before the battle, burning as ardently with the desire of battle as merchants with the desire of gain, when they embark upon the great ships. When victory has been obtained the heroes are said to be celebrated in the songs chanted by the bards, minstrels, and poets. Bards are mentioned as especially learned in the ancient histories. The Hindus have been blamed for possessing no regular histories of their country, but this allusion seems to suggest that histories may have been lost. At the banquets of the warriors are mentioned comfitures, pâtes, various kinds of cakes, rice boiled with sweetmeats, &c., condiments flavoured with rum, in addition to meats 'artistically prepared,' with carefully seasoned gravies, and various kinds of intoxicating liquors. And the brahmins also seem to have partaken of these to great extent. Their revels were accompanied by songs, as at our great dinners of city companies, &c. To become inebriated after a gay banquet seems to have been regarded with no more abhorrence than in England during the Georgian era, when the clergy as well as the gentry indulged freely in the pleasures of the table. This great epic is stated, in the poem itself, to have been first recited in royal presence, then to have been narrated before holy sages; but its contents suggest that, in its present form, it was written in an age which may be considered literary. There are frequent allusions in it to treatises on the various branches of the political and social arts.

Attention is continually turned towards Krishna throughout the poem. In him are said to be victory and eternal glory. He says, in reply to praises of himself: 'I cease not to work for the preservation of the entire world.' His birth and early life are related in the last book of the Mahābhārata, or in what has been held to an addendum to it, the book called the Harivansa. In this will be found a strange resemblance to events in the life of Christ. A tyrant endeavours

to slay Krishna at his birth, heavenly choirs rejoice, &c. Throughout the Mahábhárata he appears as one known to the readers or hearers. He is not introduced as a novelty. He endeavours to mediate between the contending princes, and his journey as ambassador is thus described.

Before setting out he bathes and performs the due matutinal ceremony, adoring the sun and fire (*i.e.* the Agni, or holy fire of the altar), to which a large proportion of the hymns of the Vedas are addressed in adoration, and inclining before the brahmins. His car is armed for the journey. It is adorned with moons and crescent-moons and brilliant standards, and it is styled a charming object of art. Birds and beasts of good augury are said to follow his march. His friends, the five virtuous princes, accompany him to some distance from their capital, and, when they bid him adieu, 'Firm in battle,' the eldest, addresses him as 'Lord of all beings, eternal God of gods, whom the man exempt from passion ought to obey.' Saints assemble from all parts to greet Krishna, whom they style 'this god become a warrior prince.' 'Courtesans and kings,' they say, 'contemplate thee who art the verity.' As Krishna advances thunder is heard and rain falls in a cloudless sky. The seven great rivers of Scinde turn their courses from east to west. Darkness prevails over all the world except upon his own route. The women assembled upon his line of march overwhelm with flowers of the sweetest fragrance 'this grand being,' as he is styled, 'whose happiness is found in the welfare of all creatures.' In traversing the various towns and kingdoms, the inhabitants all come forth to meet him. When he alights, he gives orders to groom the horses in due accordance with the treatises on their treatment. Brahmins invite him to repose in their houses, described as adorned with precious stones. Everywhere he constitutes the topic of conversation, and it is agreed that pleasure will result to those who treat him with due honour, and pain to those who do not receive him. The roads are watered. The gates of the towns are decorated to receive him, while the inhabitants throng to

behold him, in cars or on foot. Crowds of charming women are upon every palace. The hymns of poets, bards, and minstrels, the sweet chants of women, and concerts of tambourines and drums, flutes and conch shells, accompany him.

Surely all this must demonstrate that, if there was not in India the exquisite grace of Greek art in the Pericles period, there was at all events a high civilisation with very elaborate art, which must have been due to the gradual growth of many ages. The internal evidence certainly seems to point to an author writing at a period between the 10th and 5th centuries B.C., perhaps Vaisampayana, who is named in the work as reciting it. He would appear to have ascribed the work to the holy Sage Vyāsa, the contemporary of Krishna, and placed by the Hindus at about 3000 B.C. The dark age of the world is held to have commenced when the divine Krishna quitted his mortal body, and again became only Vishnu, the all-pervading one, or Naráyana, he who moves upon the waters.

The following aphorisms surely suggest a highly-cultivated and religious age :—

‘Politeness is especially displayed by the happy. Holy Scripture is the grandest of riches. Contentment the greatest of pleasure. Humanity the highest duty. Renown is the aim of the dancer and comedian ; good living that of the servant. Fear is the lot of the king. Cupidity keeps us from heaven. Patience supports disputes. Science is the explanation of the true nature of things. Pity is the desire of good towards all beings. Anger is an enemy difficult to conquer. Avarice is a malady without end. Truth is the ladder for mounting to heaven ; as necessary as is a vessel for traversing the sea. Neither birth, prayer, nor the knowledge of holy Scripture, but only good conduct, can bestow the real quality of a brahmin. Patience is the virtue of the feeble and the ornament of the strong. These two men are over Paradise : a master endowed with patience, a poor man who can find the means to give. These two have a part in the dislike of the sun : a religious mendicant absorbed in

meditation, and a warrior wounded to death, with his face towards his enemy. These three doors open to hell : desire, anger, and avarice. Let not a king take advice from the idle, the unscientific, or from dancers.' Here is a passage which seems to indicate that the poem was indited before the practice of *sati* became prevalent (*i.e.* the immolation of a widow in the flames of the funereal pyre of her husband). As we have the testimony of Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador, who has left some fragmentary descriptions of India in about the 3rd century B.C., to its recognised existence at that epoch, a powerful argument is added to the reasoning in favour of the antiquity of the poem. It is said : 'Let these remain in thy house, with the surroundings of prosperity : an old father, an unfortunate brahmin, a poor friend, and a sister with her children.' Here is a suggestion of sea-voyaging being within the general cognisance of the readers or audience of the poem : 'A vessel is said to be hated by those who have traversed the worst parts of the sea.' Here is a passage which indicates general acquaintance with reading, and which shows that the Vedas, or books of knowledge, the most ancient and holiest of the Hindu Scriptures, were not then confined to the class of Brahmins : 'The warrior who has read the Vedas, if he is slain in battle, is exalted to Paradise ; and so also the merchant who has read and distributed his wealth, and so the man of inferior class.'

A description is given of an assemblage of princes. This is held in a court, vast, and of glistening marble, adorned with gold, and suggesting the splendour of the moon. It was sprinkled with the most precious sandal. It was furnished with chairs dazzling in decorations, constructed of wood, iron, ivory and gold, on which were thrown coverlets elegantly designed. The princes are costumed in rich and elaborately adorned robes. They are powdered with sandal, and they have great bouquets of flowers. The forms of ceremonial address are minutely described, corresponding to the modern salaam of the Hindu (*i.e.* to the lowly bending of the body, and the joining of the hands in attitude of supplication).

They are described as drinking, even to inebriety, of spirituous liquors. In fact, these Aryans of ancient India continually suggest an ancestry of the Greek and northern races of Europe, or in fact of ourselves, rather than of the modern Hindus. Amongst the Rajpoots and Sikhs, however, we find those whom we may consider as their genuine descendants.

Fêtes are described, on the occasion of a great religious ceremony performed by Krishna. The narrative suggests that amateur theatricals were in vogue. Firstly, an account is given of an apparently professional actor, who charms them by his admirable exhibition of light comedy acting, and his power of universal mimicry. Then the principal members of Krishna's tribal family disguise themselves in the garb of comedians. One is described as becoming what we should call the 'leading man' of the company. Another is the 'low comedian,' and the rest take various parts. With them are conjoined ladies distinguished by their graces and talents, and an orchestra is added. Concealed under the guise of the characters which they were to enact, they arrive in a popular quarter of the city, five houses are assigned to them for residence, and hospitalities and presents conferred upon them.

At the representation they first perform a drama upon the subject of the other great Indian epic poem, the *Ramáyana*, the actors being in suitable costumes. After the customary prologue it is related that many interesting scenes ensue, which evoke enthusiastic applause. Precious stuffs and gems are bestowed upon the performers. After the principal piece, recitations, &c., are given. The king causes a handsome theatre to be constructed, and therein concerts are given of wind and stringed instruments, also vocal, with choirs of women. A play is performed entitled the 'History of *Couvéra*' (the deity of riches) 'and the loves of *Rambhá*,' a nymph of Indra's heaven. And now a passage suggests that not only were they careful to attire their characters in fitting costumes, and not only were women allowed to perform as upon our modern stage, but that they actually had our



scenic effects. It is related that, by a magical effort of the art of the Yadavas (*i.e.* Krishna's kinsfolk), the decorations represented, in its natural aspect, Mount Kelâsa, the Olympus of the Hindus.

The description of Krishna's city of Dwaravati, allowing for the poet's exaggeration, suggests a capital not unworthy to be placed by the side of our modern Paris. Its turrets overlook parks, flower gardens, plantations, canals and basins of water, walls resplendent with gold, woods and the distant mountains. Its arcades are enriched with gold and precious stones, and it is surrounded by deep moats and lofty ramparts, glistening with yellow stucco. On these are placed engines of war, capable of killing 100 men at a discharge. The town contained eight principal streets and six grand squares, with a wide road or boulevard running round it. In these streets the ladies and great men could display their cortèges without crowding, for seven chariots could go abreast. The houses had staircases enriched with gold and precious stones, and the windows had golden lattices. In Krishna's palace were a thousand crystal columns, and it was chiefly constructed of precious stones. When he enters the city in triumph, vases of agreeable liquors are placed here and there, the heads of the corporations come to meet him, and the women shower down flowers upon him from the housetops.

After Krishna, under some one of his names has been frequently mentioned, the following account of his incarnation is given. 'To favour the worlds, the illustrious Divinity who receives the adoration of the world, Vishnu, incarnated himself in Devaki (the divine one), and became the son of Vasudeva—he who is without beginning or end, the God, creator of the world, the Imperishable, the Chief of beings, the universal soul, Nature, the All-power, the principle of life, the creator of all, he whose essence is goodness, the Immortal, the Infinite one, the Swan, the adorable Naráyana, he who nourishes all, who is not born—he willed, for the increase of virtue, to be born in the race of men.'

It has been asserted that Krishna's adoration only came

into vogue at about the 8th century of our era. Doubtless at about that time certain aspects of his present worship became prominent, but there can be little doubt that the Hari (his usual name in the Mahábhárata), is the Herakles described by Megasthenes as adored in Krishna's first city of Mathura on the Jumna, in the 3rd century B.C.

This poem contains allusions to, accounts of, and forms of adoration addressed to Hari or Krishna throughout, and it is evidently based upon more ancient legends and popular belief. It seems that even if it were ascribed to a late period, such as the 8th century of our era, the Krishna worship indicated in it must still be old. If we can suppose that the author absolutely ignored the vast and settled system of Buddhism, and that his imagination completely carried him into the past, still would the manner in which Krishna is introduced suggest a religion of many centuries' duration. Milton was inspired to his 'Paradise Lost' in the 17th century after the time of Christ. It is difficult to believe that the author or authors of the Mahábhárata could have been inspired to indite it except after the lapse of some such period since divine attributes were claimed by, or attributed to, this remarkable prince. If the civilisation depicted in the Mahábhárata is to be assigned to the period of Charlemagne in Europe, we must recognise the fact that while the northern nations of Europe were little removed from barbarism, and while the Roman Empire was declining, Hindustan contained a chivalric, elegant, and deeply-religious civilisation: supposing we admit that the poet of the Mahábhárata was inspired by the times in which he lived, allowing for poetical licence and exaggeration. Of this period in the Roman Empire Gibbon remarks: 'At every step, as we sink deeper in the decline and fall of the eastern empire, the annals of each succeeding reign would impose a more ungrateful and melancholy task.' But, as I have observed, the evidence seems strongly to indicate that the Mahábhárata had been indited before the period of Buddhist supremacy throughout India (*i.e.* from the time of Ashoka, assigned by modern

scholarship to about the 3rd century B.C. to about the 8th or 10th century A.D.) It certainly could not have been written since the Mohammedan invasions of the 11th century of our era.

It seems undoubtedly to show that interesting and important prototypes of Christian doctrines were in existence in Bhárata, or Arya varta (*i.e.* the land of the noble or cultivating race). Essentially the religious conceptions in the Krishna religion seem to be connected with the Christianity of mediævalism. What sentiments could have been more in accordance with the professions of chivalry than these?—'Defeat is no better than death. The duty of the warrior is to seek victory or death in battle.' Death has many advantages over the incurring of reproach.' Krishna, however, endeavours to act as mediator between the contending princes. It is frequently asserted in this work that the true Brahminhood depends upon the spirit of the Brahmin's deeds and life, not upon his mere hereditary association with the Order. But care is continually taken to inculcate the propriety of supporting the Brahmins. At all great ceremonies accounts are given of vast numbers of presents bestowed upon them—golden pieces, cattle, fruits, cars adorned with gold, &c., &c. In this great poem of our darker-complexioned Aryan cousins, as science now acknowledges the Aryan Hindus to be, it is not that merely a few gems are to be extracted from it, of high religious feelings, pithy wisdom, or rare poetical descriptions, suggesting long culture. On the contrary, earnest devotional addresses, perfectly suitable to a modern pulpit, worldly-wise apophthegms, accounts of the magnificence, taste and luxuries of life, and of carefully-considered political and social economics, abound in its pages. Constantly the apparent polytheism is declared to express the attributes or aspects of one eternal, omnipresent, and omniscient supreme Spirit, who has been incarnated upon earth in many forms, but especially and entirely in the prince of many appellations, now generally known as Krishna.

The enthusiastic love of the beauties of nature is ever

apparent ; whether exulting in the grandeur of mountains, the loveliness of sylvan scenes, the beauty of the flowers, which in India glow in gorgeous tints on forest trees, in the delight of gardens and the tranquil charms of waters, adorned with the blue and crimson lotus, &c. Surely this love of the beauties of nature must betoken an absolutely refined civilisation. There are eccentric legends in it, but they relate to the remote past. The Hindu, devoid of faith, may consider some of our Biblical stories not altogether devoid of eccentricity. Krishna is first introduced into the work under the following circumstances. The hand of a princess is offered to any noble who can win her in competition of feats of arms, at a species of tournament. Hither, it is stated, come kings and sons of kings, and admirable young men of various countries—students in the Veda, firm in their vows ; also poets, actors, athletes, &c. The virtuous princes, who are associated with Krishna, come in the disguise of Brahminical students. The banished duke and his followers in Shakespeare's 'As You Like It' are somewhat suggested by the story of their banishment from their heritage. As they make their way towards this tournament it is related that they read the Vedas. Outside the city grand preparations are made. Pavilions are raised, with porticoes, arcades, and commodious staircases. They are adorned with elegant carpets, couches, and seats. They are perfumed with aloes and sandal, and decorated with wreaths of flowers. After diversions of comedians and dancers, &c., on the sixteenth day of the fête the princess, elaborately appareled, descends into the arena to display herself. Then the musical instruments are silenced, and it is solemnly proclaimed that whoever draws a certain bow of tremendous strength, and shoots five arrows in succession through a ring, shall have the princess to wife ; provided his qualifications in respect to manly vigour, beauty, and birth are satisfactory. The disguised princes are victorious, much to the delight of the Brahmins present, and to the disgust of the aristocratic warriors, who exclaim that they are not qualified to win the prize. Then Krishna informs the

assembled kings that the princess has been legally won, and that the supposed Brahmins are of the warrior class. The general descriptions of the poem seem to suggest so much luxury and refinement that it seems reasonable to refer this winning of the hand of the princess, by feats of arms, to a legend of an earlier age. At all events, her marriage to the five princes indicates an ancient legend. As has been observed, however, they are all virtually incarnations of Indra, so may be considered one. This Princess Krishnâ, or Draupadî, is related, in a former existence, to have been unable to get a husband, notwithstanding her beauty and charms, on account of sins in another, previous existence. As, in those ancient days, unlike our own modern overpopulated times, at all events in England, it was considered disgraceful to remain single, she prayed earnestly for a husband. A voice from heaven informed her that she must continue in single bliss during this transmigration, on account of her sins in a former life, but that in the next transmigration she should have five husbands. 'But,' she urged, 'I do not want five; I only want one husband.' It was answered that she had prayed earnestly, in five separate supplications, for a spouse. Each prayer had been separately answered, and she must wed the five. Accordingly she became this Princess Krishnâ, or Draupadî, and wedded the five Pandu princes, of whom the chief was Yudishthira, 'Firm in battle,' as has been said.

According to this Mahábhárata (*i.e.* 'great supporter') epic, the happiness of the earth had been ruined by demons entering into the forms of men and animals. The personified Earth, heavily oppressed by the weight of her burden, and tormented by fear, implores succour of the God who is the parent of all creatures. She sees Brahmâ, surrounded by divine beings, sages, heavenly nymphs, &c., and prays for deliverance. Brahmâ orders the deities to become incarnate in the world to contend against the demons. But first they go to the higher heaven of Naráyana, or Vishnu, 'to him of the yellow robe, the brilliant one with the charming eyes,' and

Indra, chief of the heavenly host, says to him : ' Be incarnate thyself in a portion of thy substance.' In concert with the divine beings, Indra makes arrangements with Naráyana for the descent upon earth. Vasudeva, the father of Krishna, is himself alleged to be a portion of the immortal God of gods. Baladeva, the brother of Krishna, is also an incarnation of Vishnu, considered as Sesha, the serpent, type of eternity. Krishna's infancy, his escape from the reigning tyrant who has been informed that a child will be born of Krishna's mother for his destruction, his youthful days amongst the pastoral folk, these stories are not related till the end of the Mahábhárata, in the book called the Harivansa. But that the story of his pastoral life is not a later invention is shown by the epithet, ' Lover of the shepherdesses,' being applied to him.

Under the name Cesava he is thus addressed by the Sage Vyāsa, the reputed author of the poem, who is supposed to have been his contemporary. ' Thou art the beginning and the end of all beings, thou art the treasure of penitences, the eternal sacrifice. Thou art Hari, Brahma, the sun and moon, time, the earth, the cardinal points, the creator and grandest of men. Thou art the supreme way. Thou destroyest the demons by hundreds. There exists in thee neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty. At the end of an age of the world thou drawest all beings into thyself, and thou then becomest this world. In the first creation of beings thou wast the only patriarch—thou wast the creator of all worlds. Thou art the All-pervader, thou art the sacrifice, the sacrificer and the victim—patience and truth art thou. Thou art the sacrifice which is truth. Thou art the eternal, the way on which the holy march, soul of beings, without cessation in action. The constellations, the worlds, and the guardians of worlds all exist in thee—thou art the Lord of all beings, of those who are divine and of those who are born of Manu.'

The first Manu is the first self-existent man-type. The seventh Manu is the Indian Noah, who constructs an ark, and Krishna becomes incarnate as a fish to guide it into safety.

He does not take pairs of all the animals into the ark, but only the seeds of created things. Manu comes from the Sanscrit word *man*, to think; man properly meaning the thinking being.

The religion of the Mahábhárata is a spiritual pantheism, in which the one Spirit is conceived as peopling Heaven under various personifications, and becoming incarnate upon earth in many forms, of which that of Krishna, or Hari, is the most perfect manifestation of the divine. Through complete faith in him, release from the recurring round of transmigrations in this and other worlds can be attained, and the eternal bliss be reached, in union with the divine spirit of All.

Krishna, in his warlike character, seems to have been naturally adored by the warriors of North-Western India, and under corresponding forms by the old warlike nations or tribes of Europe. Phæbus Apollo, and the old Scandinavian deities seem in affinity. The peaceful Buddhistic doctrines obtained a hold of the milder races of Eastern Hindustan, and they seem to have obtained a footing for a time on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the placid precepts of Pythagoreanism, developing into Platonism and eventually displaced by Christianity.

In one passage in the Mahábhárata, Krishna, as Vishnu, is said to have been also Kapila. Now Kapila is the founder of one of the six great Hindu systems of philosophy which were founded after the period of the compilation of the hymns of the Vedas. Professor Weber remarks, in his history of Sanscrit literature, that Kapila, the originator of the Sankhya system of philosophy, appears to be raised to divine dignity itself. He became regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu, or Naráyana. Kapila is also closely associated with Buddhism, the legends of which uniformly speak of him as long anterior to Buddha. Krishna and Buddha are, therefore, both connected with the same philosophical system; which is undeniably to be assigned to a period previous to the epoch of Gautama Buddha, or Sakya Muni, placed by modern scholarship at about the 5th century B.C.



In conclusion, the statement of a holy Sage in the *Mabábhárata*, concerning the last period of this age of the world, shall be given. 'Truth,' he says, 'will be lost, the classes intermingled, atheists will abound, and Brahmins will become merely disputatious. Husbands and wives, fathers and sons, will be at enmity. Darkness, sin, misery, and shortened lives will ensue. The lower classes will preach and the Brahmins become their disciples. The temples will be in ruins, wars will prevail, rains will become overwhelming, and the constellations will lose their brilliance. At length fire will consume everything, no asylum will remain, and only groans be heard.

'On the ruins of the world will come the new age. Brahmins will again be recognised as the first of classes. Then will arise the Brahmin Kalki, surnamed the glory of the All-pervading One, surpassing in beauty, energy, and intelligence. From his thought will be born chariots of war, warriors, and weapons. He will be king, victorious in virtue, monarch of the entire world; and he shall bring the celestial blessings upon earth. He will immolate the barbarians and prepare the great sacrifice of the horse, in token of universal dominion. Then the children of Manu, by his example, will obtain happiness, and the destruction of robbers will insure tranquillity. Vice will be exterminated and virtue will return. Temples to the deities and holy hermitages will be revived, and the faithful will replace heretics.' This, it may again be urged, would seem to suggest a period when Buddhistic ideas were gaining ground, antagonistical to Brahminical supremacy; but previously to the time of Ashoka, usually assigned to about the 3rd century B.C., when Buddhism seems virtually to have become a State religion, under his patronage.

ORIGIN OF THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY,  
LONDON, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITS  
LABOURS ON BEHALF OF THE NORTH-  
AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY WM. MARSHALL VENNING, D.C.L., M.A., OXON.

(Read June 1884.)

JOHN ELIOT, long known as 'the apostle of the North-American Red Men,' and other Englishmen early in the seventeenth century, laboured to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to the heathen natives of New England in their own Indian language, and in doing so, found it necessary to carry on civilisation with religion, and to instruct them in some of the arts of life. Their writings, and more particularly some of the tracts known as the 'Eliot Tracts,' aroused so much interest in London that the needs of the Indians of New England were brought before Parliament, and on July 27, 1649, an Act or Ordinance was passed with this title:—'A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England.'

The Act recited that 'the Commons of England in Parliament assembled had received certain intelligence that divers the heathen natives of New England had, through the blessing of God upon the pious care and pains of some godly English, who preached the Gospel to them in their own Indian language, not only of barbarous become civil, but many of them forsaking their accustomed charms and sorceries, and other satanical delusions, did then call upon the name of the Lord; and that the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst these poor heathen could not be prosecuted with that expedition and further success as was desired, unless fit instruments were encouraged and maintained to pursue

it, universities, schools, and nurseries of literature settled for further instructing and civilising them, instruments and materials fit for labour and clothing, with other necessities, as encouragements for the best deserving among them, were provided, and many other things necessary for so great a work.' The Ordinance enacted that there should be a Corporation in England, consisting of sixteen persons, viz. a President, Treasurer, and fourteen assistants, to be called 'The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England,' with power to acquire lands (not exceeding the yearly value of 2,000*l.*), goods and money.

A general collection or subscription was directed by Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector, to be made in all parishes of England and Wales for the purposes of the Corporation, and nearly 12,000*l.* was raised in this manner, the chief part of which was expended in the purchase of landed property at Eriswell in Suffolk, which was sold by the Company to the Maharajah Dulcep Singh in 1869, and of a farm at Plumstead in Kent, which latter is still in the Company's possession.

The Corporation at once appointed Commissioners and a Treasurer in New England, who, with the income transmitted from England, paid itinerant missionaries and school-teachers amongst the natives, the work being chiefly carried on near Boston, but also in other parts of Massachusetts and New York States.

On the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, the Corporation created by the Long Parliament became of course defunct, but mainly through the exertions of the Hon. Robert Boyle, the philosopher, and one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, an Order in Council was obtained for a new Charter of Incorporation, vesting in the Company then created the property which had been given or bought for the purposes of the late reputed Corporation. The Charter was completed on April 7, 1662, and the Hon. Robert Boyle was appointed the first Governor of the Company, which was revived under the name of 'The Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America,' and was

limited to forty-five members, the first forty-five being appointed by the Charter, Lord-Chancellor Clarendon and other noblemen heading the list, which also included several members of the late reputed Corporation, and many aldermen and citizens of London.

The yearly revenue of the Company's lands, money, and stock was ordered to be applied for the 'Propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the heathen natives in or near New England and the parts adjacent in America, and for the better civilising, educating, and instructing of the said heathen natives in learning, and in the knowledge of the true and only God, and in the Protestant religion already owned and publicly professed by divers of them.'

Commissioners in America were appointed, under whose superintendence the missionaries and teachers resumed their labours without delay, while the printing of the Old and New Testaments into the Natick or Mohican dialect of the Indian language was at once undertaken.

The Company continued its missionary work near Boston and in other parts of New England during the remainder of the seventeenth and greater part of the eighteenth centuries, but few records exist of the work then accomplished. There were no permanent stations or schools, but the Company supported many itinerant teachers both English and native. For a few years after 1775, when the American War of Independence broke out, no missionary work was done in America at all, and the funds were allowed to accumulate. But when the four provinces of Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Maine (part of the old province of New England), together with nine other provinces had been declared independent, the Company could no longer, in compliance with its Charter, carry on its work there, and was advised to remove its operations to the then province of New Brunswick, as the part of America which was next adjacent to that wherein it had till that time exercised its trusts, and which, in all the Charters of the Crown, was considered as part of New England.

In 1786, therefore, the work was begun in New Brunswick, and carried on in the same way as before by itinerant missionaries and teachers (under Commissioners) until 1804, when the Commissioners resigned owing to the ill success of their endeavours.

After much inquiry, the Company in 1808 appointed General Coffin and five others to be their Commissioners in New Brunswick, and a plan submitted by General Coffin for apprenticing Indian children with English families in Sussex Vale, New Brunswick, was adopted, but after fourteen years' trial the scheme was found to have been greatly abused, and was therefore abandoned.

The means by which the Company carries on its work are derived: 1st, from the money that was collected for the Parliamentary Company in 1649; 2nd, from a fund arising under the will of the Hon. Robert Boyle, the first Governor of the Company as re-established after the Restoration; and 3rd, from property devised under the will of the Rev. Dr. Daniel Williams in 1745. These three funds were regulated by three decrees in Chancery in or before the year 1836, and in accordance with these decrees the income of the Company's Trust Funds is applicable to the following objects.

1. The income of the Charter Trust Fund is applicable to 'promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ unto and amongst the heathen natives in the parts of America now called Upper Canada and elsewhere, in or near the territories by the Charter described as New England and parts adjacent in America; and also for civilising, teaching, and instructing the said heathen natives and their children, not only in the principles and knowledge of the true religion, and in morality and the knowledge of the English tongue, and in other liberal arts and sciences, but for the educating and placing of them or their children in some trade, mystery, or lawful calling.'

2. The income of the funds subject to the Hon. Robert Boyle's Trust is applicable to the following purpose:—'For the advancement of the Christian religion among infidels in

divers parts of America, under the Crown of the United Kingdom.'

3. The income of the funds subject to the Trusts of Dr. Daniel Williams's will, is applicable to 'the advancement of the Christian religion among Indians, Blacks, and Pagans in any of Her Majesty's plantations and colonies, and in maintaining, educating, and relieving the necessities of the said Indians, Blacks, and Pagans, so far as such application in the maintenance, education, and civilisation, and relief of the necessities of the same Indians, Blacks, and Pagans is connected with or subservient to the purpose of advancing the Christian religion.'

After the abandonment of its mission work in New Brunswick in 1822, the Company transferred its operations to other parts of British America, and has since established stations at various places, those which have been most permanently maintained, and at which the Company has done most of its work, being the following :—

1. Among the Mohawks and other Six Nations Indians settled on the banks of the Grand River between Brantford and Lake Erie.

2. Among the Mississaguas of Chemong or Mud Lake and Rice Lake, both in the County of Peterborough, Ontario.

3. On the banks of the Garden River, in the district of Algoma, near Sault Ste. Marie (the rapids between Lake Superior and Lake Huron).

4. On Kuper Island in the Strait of Georgia, British Columbia.

#### GRAND RIVER STATION.

The Indians of the Six Nations, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras, in the American War of Independence proved themselves loyal to the British Crown, and after the Declaration of Independence migrated from the south side of Lake Ontario to various parts of Canada, and principally to the north side of Lake Erie. As a reward for their loyalty and to provide them with

hunting-grounds, a tract of several hundred thousand acres along the Grand River, from Lake Erie to Brantford, partly on the north-east and partly on the south-west side of the river, was in 1782 assigned by the British Government to the Indians of the Six Nations, under the name of an Indian Reserve.

Here between the years 1822 and 1827 the Company, with the assistance of Captain John Brant, son of Captain Joseph Brant, the celebrated chief of the Mohawks, commenced operations, and besides building several schools and a parsonage, repaired the mission church near Brantford, built by the Mohawks about 1782, being the oldest Protestant church in Western Canada, and still possessing the Bible and Communion Service presented by Queen Anne to the Indian Church in the valley of the Mohawk River, New York State, which the Indians had been obliged to abandon during the War of Independence.

In 1828 the Rev. Abraham Nelles (now Archdeacon of Brant) was appointed the Company's assistant missionary at this station, and the annual expenditure at the mission was fixed at 750*l*. The employment of interpreters, the building of school-teachers' houses, and the clothing of some of the children, effectually prevented this limit from being strictly adhered to, and during the last fifteen years its annual expenditure at the Grand River has always exceeded 2,000*l*. and often 3,000*l*.; for the Indians here have increased in number from 1,900, fifty years ago, to 2,800 in 1870 and 3,400 in 1883, and their enforced removal to the south-west bank of the river about the year 1845, in spite of the opposition of the Company and its missionaries, has rendered many of its mission buildings useless to the Indians, and has necessitated the erection of new schools and churches as well as teachers'-houses and parsonages. A large industrial school, known as the Mohawk Institution, has been at various times altered, enlarged, and even rebuilt, and now affords maintenance and education for ninety children of both sexes, as well as instruction in agriculture and mechanical trades for the boys and domestic training for the girls. Nine



day schools on the Tuscarora Reserve were provided by the Company with teachers and school requisites, until the formation of a School Board in 1878. To this Board the Council of the Six Nations have contributed \$1,500 per annum, the Indian department \$400, and the New England Company a grant of \$1,500, which has lately been reduced to \$1,000, it being thought desirable that the Indians on this Reserve should contribute more largely towards the education of their children.

#### CHEMONG AND RICE LAKES STATION.

The village of Chemong is situated on a peninsula between Chemong and Buckhorn Lakes, about ten miles north of the town of Peterborough, Ontario, and eighty miles east of Toronto. The Mission here was commenced in 1828, and nine years later the Company obtained a grant from the Crown of 1,600 acres of land, which have only been partially cleared, and upon which about thirty cottages have been erected by the Company, as well as a chapel, school-house, teacher's-house, and residence for the missionary in charge of the station. According to the census taken this year the population of the Chemong or Mud Lake band of Indians was 181.

The Company's station at Rice Lake is situated about eleven miles south of the town of Peterborough, and was also opened in 1828, 1,120 acres being granted in trust to the Company's missionary for the benefit of the Indians. Here the Company cleared and fenced land, and erected between twenty and thirty cottages for the Indians, who, according to the last return, numbered 93 only. This station is also under the care of the Company's missionary at Chemong, but a resident missionary and teacher being provided by the Methodist body, and the band having greatly diminished in numbers, the Company's expenditure at this station has for several years past been very small in amount.

## GARDEN RIVER STATION.

A grant of 150*l.* per annum was made to the Church of England Mission on the Garden River Reserve, near Sault Ste. Marie, in the year 1855, and shortly afterwards the Company undertook the cost of supporting a missionary of its own there, and continued to do so until 1871, when for various reasons its operations on this Reserve were discontinued, and the missionary was transferred to the Company's Grand River Station.

## KUPER ISLAND STATION.

In June 1881 the Company purchased a farm as a mission station on Kuper Island, in the Strait of Georgia, and about five miles from Chemainus, on the east-coast of Vancouver Island. This was the only farm on which a white man could reside, the rest of the island being Indian land. The station has been placed under the charge of a missionary, who is assisted in his work by his wife and family, and has been provided by the Company with a small sailing vessel to enable him to visit the Indians on the adjacent islands and mainland. A mission-house and school-house for congregational as well as for educational purposes have also been built, and the attendance at the latter is increasing in numbers and regularity.

Besides maintaining and managing the stations already mentioned, grants of money have been made by the Company at various times to different Indian missions throughout the Dominion, more especially for the benefit of the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté on Lake Ontario. For many years, too, the Company made large appropriations towards the advancement of the Christian religion amongst the negroes of the West Indies. Between the years 1823 and 1840 about 12,000*l.* were so expended. Since that time, however, owing to its extensive operations in Canada and the claims

of its own missions, the Company has been unable to devote any large portions of its funds to these objects, but has occasionally made grants in individual cases, the most noteworthy being that of Dr. Derwent Waldron, a native of the West Indies, who was educated for the medical profession mainly at the Company's expense, and is now a Government Surgeon in the Gold Coast Colony. In conclusion, I should like to express my obligations for much of the matter contained in this brief account of the oldest of our Protestant missionary societies to 'A Sketch of the Origin and the Recent History of the New England Company,' by Mr. H. W. Busk—the senior member of the Company—which was published early in the present year.

## THE INTERCOURSE OF THE DANES WITH THE FRANKS, &c.

By HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

THE mutual influence of the Danish raids upon the policy of the Empire of the Franks, and *vice versa*, was a natural consequence, although one not sufficiently appreciated. Thus the internecine struggle of the three sons of Louis the Pious, which we have described in an earlier paper, and which culminated in the battle of Fontenay, was immediately followed by Osker's attack on the Seine, and by the capture of Nantes by the pirates. These terrible disasters drew the brothers together for a while, and on the earnest pressure of the grandees of the various parts of the empire a solemn assembly was convened. 'At Coblenz,' says Palgrave, 'the three envious brothers, the three grudging and hostile kings, were convened in stately congress, their nobles, their prelates, and 110 delegates or commissioners, a special parliament. They held their sessions in that edifice still appearing as the principal feature in the sunny and cheerful city, the twin-towered church of St. Castor.'<sup>1</sup> A long discussion took place between the envoys on either side, and eventually special commissioners were appointed to ascertain the value and revenues of the various bishoprics, abbeys, counties, and royal domains; and it was agreed that the congress should be adjourned over the winter and meet the following year at Verdun.' They accordingly met at Verdun, July 15, 843, and the three brothers having come together and undertaken to ratify the decision of their envoys, the treaty was duly signed in August 843, and is known as the Treaty of Verdun. By it an undefined supremacy was conceded to Lothaire as Signor or

<sup>1</sup> Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, i. 341.

Senior. His portion included the old Imperial capital of the south, Rome, and the Imperial capital of the north, Aachen, and the two were united by a band of territory 'including all varieties of soil, climate, and productions offered by the richest and most active portions of Europe—the wine and oil of the south, the harvests and pastures of the north. From the teeming floods of the German Ocean and the sands and dunes of Frisia, Lothaire's Imperial kingdom extended to the luxurious regions of Capua, the olives and chestnuts of the Abruzzi, and the emerald and sapphire waves of the Mediterranean and Tyrrhene seas. The Cis-Alpine eastern and western boundaries were indicated or formed by the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the two great rivers so kindred in the etymology of their names, so contrary to each other in their course, the Rhine and the Rhone. Not in all cases did the frontier reach quite up to the banks of the several rivers, yet that frontier was rarely, if ever, removed beyond a day's journey from the river or the river valley boundaries.'<sup>1</sup> Dümmler more precisely and prosaically defines these limits as including the kingdom of Italy, Provence, and the Burgundian counties between the Rhone and the Alps, together with the gaus of Uzès, Veviers, and Lyons on the right bank of the Rhone, the Dukedom of Burgundy on both flanks of the Jura, as far as the Aare and the Saone; Alsace, the Moselle country—*i.e.* that comprised in the Archbishopric of Trèves and its suffragan bishops, to Chaumont on the Marne; Ripuaria, as far as the Saxon frontier, and the various gaus on the Maas as far as Sedan; Kammerich and the land to the mouth of the Scheldt and all Friesland from the Rhine to the Weser.

A common form of architecture, as Palgrave and Freeman have shown, prevails over this district. 'Its most normal features are most distinctly pronounced in the church of St. Castor, where the conferences were held; the tall, square, many storied and compartmented bell towers, the apse crowned by open galleries, and the other details which the eye impresses so clearly on the memory and the pencil delineates

<sup>1</sup> *Id.* 343. Warnkonig and Gerard, *Hist. des Carolingiens*, 82 and 83.

with so much facility, while the pen fails in pourtraying them. . . . When the traveller, pursuing his journey towards Lotharingian Italy, traverses the Alps through either of the *Chiuse*, the accustomed Lotharingian passes of Mont Cenis or St. Gothard, the same models still appear, and had not the reverend abbey church of St. Gall yielded in the last age to modern taste, that structure would have exhibited the type in vast magnificence. The Lotharingian style flourishes throughout the whole of Lotharingian Lombardy, which beside the modern province so-called includes the Venetian *terra firma*, Tyrol and Trent, Ticino, Piedmont, Parma, Piacenza, and Modena. In Tuscany the Lotharingian style contends with the products of another school, displaying more accurate reminiscences of Roman art. The city of the Cæsars proudly rejected Ultramontane taste, but the usage of the bell enforced her priesthood to admit the Teutonic Glocken-thurm. The Basilica of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, originally raised by the Roman patrician Pammachius, the husband of Paulina, St. Jerome's sister, was, during the subsistence of the Carlovingian domination, rebuilt by an architect taught in the barbarian colonies of Germany or Belgic Gaul, and the Lotharingian normal design lastly meets and abandons us at Rome.<sup>1</sup>

While this was the kingdom given to Lothaire, his brothers Charles and Louis took the broad lands to west and east. Charles' dominion extended as far as the Spanish marches. His realm included Aquitania (with Gascony), Septimania or Gothia (with the Spanish march), Burgundy west of the Saone (*i.e.* the later Burgundy), all Neustria and France properly so-called, Brittany and Flanders.<sup>2</sup> 'With the exception,' says Palgrave, 'of Provence and some few parts of Lotharingia, there is not anywhere the value of fifty miles' difference in frontier between the kingdom of France in the reign of Louis Quatorze and the kingdom given to Charles le Chauve by the Treaty of Verdun.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Palgrave, 344, 345.

<sup>2</sup> Dümmler, *Gesch. des Ostfränkischen Reichs*, 195, 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* 345.

Louis added to his original kingdom of Bavaria, Suabia as far as the Rhine, with Khurwalken, the Thur gau, which then embraced the gau of Zurich, and the Aar gau, divided by the Aar from Burgundy, the Nord gau, with the so-called Schwalafelde on the Altmühl, all the land of the East Franks or Franconians, with those parts of the sees of Mainz, Worms, and Speier which lay east of the Rhine. Lastly, all Saxony and Thuringia, from the Danish and Slav marches on the Eider and the Elbe as far as the mouth of the Weser and the Lower Rhine.<sup>1</sup> This included, in fact, all those parts of Germany which had been conquered by Charlemagne. The peace of Verdun should have placed the Frank Empire with its great resources, now united again in policy, in a position to resist all enemies; but, as L. von Ranke shrewdly observes, however mighty the Empire might be it was not strong enough. It lacked an important power, namely, the control of the sea. If the Franks could have organised fleets to follow their pestilent foes, the Norsemen and the Saracens, into their retreats, and by destroying the nests exterminated the predatory hawks, they would have been tolerably safe and might have devoted themselves to internal reforms. Charlemagne's only policy against the sea robbers was to meet them on land and defeat them, and then to try and reclaim them to a more peaceable life by his missionaries. He planted garrisons on exposed points, especially near the mouths of the rivers, which during his life did their work tolerably effectually, but the disturbances which arose towards the end of Louis the Pious' reign, and the civil strife of his sons, had caused these precautions to be neglected and the frontiers to be left defenceless.<sup>2</sup>

In view of these facts a new policy, as we have seen, was

<sup>1</sup> Dümmler, *op. cit.* 193, 194.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hoc dissidii genere bellatoribus utrimque pereuntibus pene omnis illa regio defensoribus nudata suis praeda gentibus patuit externis.'—Adrevald, *Mirac. S. Bened.* civ. 16. 'Si qui residui sunt. sine viribus ubique aut fugiunt aut caeduntur gladiis; hinc undique paganorum et hostium incursions, hinc quod omne vulgus conciditur, villae, civitates innumerae cremantur.'—*Radberti Vita Wala*, II. chap. vii. p. 551. Dümmler, *Op. cit.* i. 191, note 29.



inaugurated, or rather an old one was revived. Just as Carausius had found it convenient to plant colonies of the freebooters of his day along the coasts especially liable to their attacks, so did the Frank rulers find it convenient to grant the fiefs of Rustingen, Dorestadt, and Walcheren to the expatriated brothers Harald, Rurik, and Hemming, the condition of the grant being, probably, that they were to defend the frontier from the attacks of their countrymen. Further north Anskar was busy in superintending the Church in Nordalbingia, where he worked among the semi-Saxon, semi-Slavic inhabitants, and also continued his labours doubtless among such Danish boys as he could secure. The Treaty of Verdun no doubt interfered with his work, since it deprived him of the endowment supplied by the foundation at Turholt, which with Flanders passed under the control of Charles the Bald, and some of his colleagues seem to have left him and returned to Corbey.<sup>1</sup>

A more terrible event for him and his little Christian colony was the burning of Hamburg in 845, which I described in a previous paper on the early history of Sweden. In it we traced the history of St. Anskar down to the year 846, when after his see had been utterly devastated, and Hamburg itself burnt, he was appointed to the see of Bremen. We are told that, after he had been nominated to the bishopric of Bremen, he had several interviews with Eric, who is now called sole king of the Danes, to whom he made several presents to conciliate his good-will, and to gain access for his preachers to his dominions. This friendly intercourse was supplemented by several official embassies which passed between the Danish king and the Franks, and Eric became so much attached to the missionary that he consulted him in various affairs of State. The latter then urged him to become a Christian, and found him a ready listener to his explanations of Scripture. He also urged him to allow a church to be built in his dominions, so that there might be a priest constantly in residence. He consented, and the

<sup>1</sup> Dümmler, i. 257.

site was fixed at Sleswig, then a port of consequence, the resort of a great number of merchants, and doubtless the chief entrepôt between Germany and Scandinavia. He also gave permission to anyone who was so desirous within his borders to become a Christian. Anskar accordingly planted a church at Sleswig dedicated to the Virgin, where a congregation soon collected, for we are told there were many Christians in the district who had been baptized at Dorestadt and Hamburg, among whom were several of the chief men of Sleswig itself, and this nucleus rapidly increased.<sup>1</sup> If we are to credit Adam of Bremen, Eric himself also became a Christian, but this is not mentioned in the life of the bishop.<sup>2</sup>

Let us turn for a while from these peaceful doings to others more germane to the fierce character of the Norse folk. As we have seen, the Danish leader Harald, had been granted a large fee in Friesland by the Emperor, had been put to death by the frontier guards for some offence which is shrouded in obscurity. When we read of this district next we find his brother Rurik, who was his companion, a fugitive. Ruodolfus, the Fuldensian annalist, tells us that Rurik who, in the time of the Emperor Louis, held Dorestadt jointly with his brother Harald, after the death of that Emperor and of Harald was falsely accused of some grievous crime before Lothaire. Perhaps he was accused of some act of treachery. Lothaire had him put under arrest. He however escaped, and went eastward to Lothaire's brother, Louis the German, with whom he lived for some time among the Saxons on the borders of the Norsemen, *i.e.* among the Nordalbingians. Louis was doubtless not displeased to give shelter to a chief who could be made so useful in harassing his turbulent brother, and we are told that Rurik proceeded to assemble a considerable number of Danes (*Danigenarum manus*), with whom he made raids on the maritime provinces of Lothaire.<sup>3</sup> We read of the pirates, most probably the fleet of Rurik, ravaging the coasts of Ostracia and

<sup>1</sup> Rembart's *Life of St. Ansharius*. Kruse, 187-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* 186.

<sup>3</sup> Pertz, i. 366. Kruse, 189.

Westracia, *i.e.* Eastern and Western Friesland, in 846, and burning the town of Dorestadt<sup>1</sup> and the neighbouring villages—that is, making a descent upon the districts which he claimed as his own. The invaders carried off their booty and prisoners, notwithstanding the presence of Lothaire at Nimvegen.<sup>2</sup>

On the approach of the invader the priests and abbots of Flanders and the neighbourhood repaired with the relics of St. Bavon, St. Wandrighisilus, St. Autburt, St. Wulfram, and St. Austreberta the Virgin to the town of St. Omer, whose strong walls and towers afforded them protection for forty years.<sup>3</sup>

The Fuldensian Annalist speaks of another attack upon Dorestadt in 847, in which they burnt and devastated the town.<sup>4</sup> Prudentius of Troyes, in reporting the same event, says the Danes attacked the emporium of Dorestadt, and *occupied and obtained* the island of Batavia.<sup>5</sup> The '*Annales Xantenses*' tells us they rowed their boats for nine miles above Dorestadt, as far as the town of Meginhard, identified by Pertz with Rhenen, and having secured a great booty retired.<sup>6</sup>

In the February of the same year, *i.e.* in 847, there was a solemn meeting of the three brothers who governed the Frank world, and who hated one another so cordially, at Meerssen, near Maestricht, where certain terms were agreed upon, embodied in some famous capitularies, one of these being that they should send joint envoys to Eric; and it was further ordered that whoever should fail on the summons of his superior to join the levies for repelling the invaders should be proscribed. It is curious to meet with the term *lantweri* (*i.e.* *landwehr*) used on this occasion.<sup>7</sup> Envoys were sent to Eric in accordance with this agreement, to warn him not to molest the Christians, or they would make common cause against him.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Prud. of Troyes*. Kruse, 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales Xantenses*, Pertz, ii. 228. Kruse, 173.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. Norm.* Pertz, i. 533. Kruse, 173.      <sup>4</sup> Pertz, i. 365. Kruse, 177.

<sup>5</sup> Pertz, i. 442-3. Kruse, 178.

<sup>6</sup> Pertz, ii. 253. Kruse, 179.

<sup>7</sup> *Capitularia Regum*, Pertz, iii. 393-5. Kruse, 178.

<sup>8</sup> *Prud. of Troyes*, Pertz. 442. Kruse, 178.

In the following year Louis held 'a placitum' at Mainz which was attended by envoys from his brothers, from the Norsemen, and the Slavs.<sup>1</sup>

The Norsemen here mentioned were no doubt the subjects of Eric, the patron of Anskar. The coquetting of their king with the Christians, and this introduction of the symbol of the hated empire across the frontier, was no doubt resented by a section of Eric's people, and it was probably the cause of the domestic feud which now arose in Denmark, where, as we are told by Prudentius of Troyes, under the year 850, Eric fought against two of his nephews, and to secure peace he had to share the kingdom with them.<sup>2</sup> The name of one of these nephews we learn from an entry in the Fuldensian Annals in 854, from which it would appear that the peace between the uncle and nephew was short-lived. We are told that strife arose between Eric, the king of the Danes, and Godurm, *i.e.* Guthrum or Gorm, the son of his brother, who had been expelled from the kingdom, and had up to that time lived the life of a pirate.<sup>3</sup> The other nephew, who is not specifically mentioned, was perhaps Sigfried or Sigurd.

When a feud arose between Eric and his nephews, it is very probable that the latter would seek help from his natural enemies, the feudatories on the Friesian coast, and it is curious to read in Prudentius of Troyes that, when peace was restored between the uncle and nephews by a partition of the kingdom, Rurik, the grandson or nephew (*nepos*: he is elsewhere called his brother) of Harald, who had recently abandoned Lothaire, having brought together the armies of the Norsemen advanced by the Rhine and Waal and attacked Friesland and the Batavian island and other neighbouring districts with a multitude of ships [*quibus partitione regni pacatis, Roric nepos Hereoldi, qui nuper a Lothario defecerat, assumtis Nortmannorum exercitibus cum multitudine navium Fresiam et Batavum insulam*

<sup>1</sup> *Fuldensian Annals*, Pertz, i. 365. Kruse, 180.

<sup>2</sup> Pertz, i. 445. Kruse, 190.

<sup>3</sup> Pertz, 369. Kruse, 229.

aliaque vicina loca per Rhenum et Vahalem devastat' <sup>1</sup>]. The Fontanelle Annals tell us Rurik was accompanied on this occasion by his nephew Godfred, the son of Harald.<sup>2</sup> Lothaire, being unable to restrain Rurik, accepted him as his man, and made over to him Dorestadt and other districts (*et alios comitatus*). Kruse suggests that this last clause refers to Kinnin or Kinnemark, now called Kinnemerland, which Rurik held in 867.<sup>3</sup> It no doubt comprised the fief previously made over to Harald. Ruodolfus of Fulda describes also these events in some detail. Fulda, when describing the adventures of Rurik, says under the year 850 that he entered the Rhine and advanced upon Dorestadt, which he *occupied and possessed*, and as Lothaire could not expel him without great danger to his people, by the advice of his magnates (*cum consilio senatus*), envoys having passed between them, Rurik became his man (*in fidem receptus est*) on condition of paying the proper dues to the Imperial treasury, and of resisting the attacks of the Danish pirates.<sup>4</sup> A part of the stipulation was also probably that he should be his ally in his struggles with his brothers. Rurik thus became a margrave or marquis of the empire: one whose duty it was to protect the marches or frontiers. It seems very clear that this grant and the one made to Godfred, to be presently described, did not involve their giving up their profession of vikings, and settling down as the later invaders settled down, but merely secured them a safe base and trysting-place, on condition of their respecting the grantor's own territory.

The pact with Lothaire did not apparently include the dominions of his brothers, for we read in the 'Annales Xantenses' in 851, that while the three Frank kings were holding a conference at Meesen: 'An immense army assembled against the Saxons, *i.e.* the Transalbingians (subjects of Louis the German), and captured some of their cities and burnt others, and vexed the Christians greatly.'<sup>5</sup> The conference

<sup>1</sup> *Prud. of Troyes*, Pertz, i. 445. Kruse, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Pertz, ii. 303. Kruse, 191.

<sup>3</sup> Pertz, i. 366. Kruse, 189.

<sup>4</sup> Pertz, i. 445. Kruse, 190, note.

<sup>5</sup> Pertz, ii. 229. Kruse, 197.

of the three brothers was held some time between June 29 and November 13, 851,' which helps us somewhat to fix this attack.<sup>1</sup>

While the valley of the Elbe was being thus assailed, another body of the invaders attacked the dominions of Charles. The two kingdoms of Charles and Lothaire were here separated by the Maas, and we read in the 'Chronicle of Prudentius of Troyes' that while Dorestadt and other 'comitatus' were made over to Rurik, other districts, as those of the Menapii, *i.e.* Flanders, the Tarvisii, *i.e.* the district of Terouanne in Belgium, where the monastery of St. Omer is situated, and other maritime districts were laid waste.<sup>2</sup>

The invaders probably wintered somewhere on the Maas, and in the following year we read how they advanced raging (*debacchantes*) as far as the monastery of St. Bavon at Ghent, which they burnt, and thence going on to Rotuma, *i.e.* Rouen, proceeded thence on foot to Beauvais, which they also burnt. On their return they were waylaid by the Franks, and a portion of them were slaughtered.<sup>3</sup>

An anonymous account of the 'Miracles of St. Bavon,' published by Mabillon (ii. Ben. L. ii. No. 10), gives us some further details of these attacks. There we read that the Danish pirates with 252 ships devastated Friesland and the Batavi. They then advanced furiously on as far as the Monasteries of St. Peter and St. Bavon at Ghent, which they burnt, then went on to Rouen, and thence they advanced on foot to Beauvais.<sup>4</sup> The following sentence from Hildegard's 'Life of St. Faro' tersely condenses the result of such visits: 'Albent enim hujus insulæ multæ ossibus captivorum innumerabilium.'<sup>5</sup> The 'Annals of Fontanelle' enable us to add some further details. They assign the chief honour of the campaign to Hoser or Osker, who a few years before—that is, it says, in 841—had captured Rouen, and during the previous eleven years had overrun and harried many districts, among others

<sup>1</sup> See Kruse, 197, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pertz, i. 445.

<sup>3</sup> *Prud. of Troyes*, Pertz, 447. Kruse, 197.

<sup>4</sup> Kruse, 197.

<sup>5</sup> Dümmler, i. 335, note 49.

the town of Burdegala, *i.e.* Bordeaux, whence he now came. They entered the Seine on the 3rd of the Ides of October, and proceeded to lay waste the monastery at Fontanelle and burnt it to the ground; they then burnt Beauvais and the monastery there. As they were returning thence they were waylaid at a place called Wardera by the Franks,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* at a village now called Ouarde on the river Epte, the future boundary of Normandy.<sup>2</sup> Many of them were killed, others managed to secrete themselves in the woods, and at night made their way again to their ships. Altogether they remained 287 days in the river Seine—namely, until the Nones of June, when they returned again to Bordeaux with their ships laden with booty, and after committing dreadful atrocities in the Seine valley.<sup>3</sup> This reference to Bordeaux as the headquarters of Osler perhaps points to his having led the expedition against Spain and the Moors, which I mentioned in a former paper. I may add here that in a fragment of Liutprand published by Langebek, i. 535, we read of the Norsemen being again on the coasts of Western Spain. We there read that the Norse ships, which were stationed near Balobriga in the Asturias,<sup>4</sup> were overwhelmed in the sea by the prayers of St. Gundisalf, bishop of Mondonnedo.<sup>5</sup>

The fleet which fell upon Friesland in 850 was composed of several sections which had united together, as was not unusual for a common object, and then separated. Prudentius of Troyes tells us that while one section of the great combined fleet, after overrunning Friesland and Batavia, was attacking Flanders, another section fell upon the Isle of Britain and the Anglians, and was there overcome by the aid of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>6</sup> On turning to the 'Anglo-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* Pertz, ii. 303. Kruse, 198.

<sup>2</sup> Palgrave, i. 445.

<sup>3</sup> Pertz, ii. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Kruse identifies this place with the town of Volobriga, named by Ptolemy among the Nemetani between the Minho and the Douro, a little above Braga, on the borders of Portugal and Galicia. Kruse, 191, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> A town and see of Galicia in the arch-diocese of St. James of Compostella, the Mindonia of the older writers. Kruse, *id.* note 6.

<sup>6</sup> Pertz, i. 445. Kruse, 190.



Saxon Chronicle' we have some grim collateral evidence of the truth of this last statement. We read that in 851 King Aethelstan and Ealcheri, the ealdorman, fought on shipboard and slew a great number of the enemy at Sandwich in Kent, and took nine ships and put the others to flight, and the heathen men, for the first time, remained over winter in Thanet. And the same year came 350 ships to the mouth of the Thames, and the crews landed and took Canterbury and London by storm, and put to flight Beorthwulf, king of the Mercians, with his army, and then went south over the Thames into Surrey, and there King Aethelwulf and his son Aethelbald, with the army of the West Saxons, fought against them at Ockley, and there made the greatest slaughter among the heathen army that we have heard tell of unto the present day, and there got the victory.<sup>1</sup>

The Brussels fragment of 'Irish Annals,' in reference to these campaigns, has the entry: 'A battle was gained by the Saxons over the Northmen.'<sup>2</sup> There is a terrible grimness in the short crisp sentences of the 'English Chronicle,' conveying much condensed meaning, which we would gladly have had enlarged by some details, for the capture of the two capitals of Southern Britain—the temporal and ecclesiastical—by such a crew must have meant a terrible tale of suffering.

The narrative in the 'Chronicle' clearly refers to two fleets. One of these was, I believe, that portion of the combined fleet which came to Britain after the descent on Friesland, as Prudentius mentions. The other was probably another section which came here after the assault on Flanders. I believe the great fleet that was collected in South Britain at this time was commanded by Gorm, whom we have every reason to believe, from the words of the Fulda Annalist, was at this time engaged in piracy, and who is named, and named for the first time, in the 'Irish Annals' this very year. He probably coasted thither along the Channel, and we probably have a trace of him in another entry in the 'Chronicle' in 851, when we read that 'Ceorl, the ealdorman, with the men of Devon-

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 346-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 131.

shire, fought against the heathen men at Wicganbeorg, and there made great slaughter and got the victory.' Mr. J. B. Davidson suggests that this is Wickanborough in Devonshire, in the parish of Berry Pomeroy, about a mile north of the famous ruins, and nearly the same distance west of Compton Castle in Marldon parish. It is from four to five miles inland from the sea at Paignton in Torbay, an excellent landing-place. But, to proceed, it is very curious that this very year, as I have read, we find Gorm mentioned as being in Ireland.

At this point we must make a wide digression, to bring up the story of the Norse attacks on Ireland to this point. In our paper on the Irish monks and the Norsemen, we carried down the story of the Norse attacks on Ireland to the year 842, when they were apparently led by a chieftain called Turgesius in the 'Annals.' The question of who he was and when he first arrived has been much debated. Turgesius has been fancifully identified with Ragnar Lodbrog, the famous Norse leader, by some authors, but it seems without the slightest warrant, save that the two were partially contemporaries. Turgesius, as Dr. Todd says, is clearly the Latinised form of the Norse name Thorgils or Thorkils, and the whole story of his life is inconsistent with that of Ragnar Lodbrog, which will occupy us in a succeeding paper. Snorro has made him the son of Harald Härfagre. This, as the same learned author has shown, is chronologically impossible. Harald Härfagre reigned, according to the best authorities, from 861-931, and if he had had a son old enough to command an expedition to Ireland in 831, he must have been considerably more than 100 when he died in 931.<sup>1</sup> But we are expressly told that Harald was but ten years old when he succeeded his father, *i.e.* in 861. It is therefore absolutely impossible he could have had a son at all in 831, and this is one of Snorro's inventions, or rather attempted synchronisms, which vitiate his narrative so much.

Kruse has made a suggestion which is more plausible.

<sup>1</sup> Todd, *Wars of the Danes, etc.* lii.

Snorro and the other northern chroniclers seldom manufactured fables deliberately, and were rather misled by assigning the same story to different heroes of the same name; and in this instance he suggests that Snorro has mistaken Harald Klak, whose story we told at some length in a former paper, with Harald Härfagre, the king of Norway, and that Thorgils was, in fact, the son of the former and the brother of Godfred, whose exploits shortly after this time are so famous. I cannot accept this view either. Harald Klak, as the feudatory of the Empire, is too often named in the 'Annals,' and so is his family, for such an important figure to have been omitted. I am rather disposed to treat him as a brother of Osker. Osker, as we have seen, had his headquarters at Bordeaux, and was probably one of the leaders of the expedition to Spain and Africa. Turgesius is brought from Africa by the Irish Annalists, and is closely connected with the introduction of the Blackamoors into Ireland. It is therefore possible that he and Osker were the two brothers named in the 'Annals' as leaders of that expedition.

It is a curious coincidence that there should occur in the Frank 'Annals' of this very time an adventurer named *Torquatus*, who is called the son of Terculf, and whose name is certainly Teutonic. We are told a curious story about his having been driven from Brittany, which was then a nest of pirates, by the Romans (!) who held authority there on behalf of the Emperor. His name is very like Turgesius. The date of the latter's first arrival in Ireland is by no means certain. The Tract on the Wars of the Danes and the fragment from the Book of Leinster both put it *after* the invasion of Limerick, which was in 834-5. On the other hand, the same authors tell us it was by his followers that Armagh was plundered three times in one month, an event which the Ulster 'Annals' and the 'Chron. Scotorum' fix in 831-2. Dr. Todd dates the arrival of Turgesius in 832 to suit the latter fact, but neither of the 'Annals' mentioned names Turgesius at all until the year of his death, *i.e.* 845, and the account of the Wars of the Danes

is so loosely written at this period, while the invasions instead of being dated are merely arranged in groups, that it is very unsafe to follow it on a question of chronology; and I am disposed to think that Turgesius was not in Ireland much before 840 or 841. Armagh was taken twice, it must be remarked: once in 832, and a second time in 839. The two captures are not discriminated in the Tract on the Wars of the Danes, and, as we know, Turgesius died in 845, and we are expressly told he usurped the abbacy of Armagh for four years.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the year of the capture referred to was 839 or 840, and, strangely enough, Dr. Todd in the side notes to the text on page 9 dates the assumption of sovereignty over the Norse folk in Ireland at the year 839.<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that Giraldus Cambrensis, who seems to have had some original authority for Irish history at this period before him, dates the arrival of the great chief in 838.<sup>3</sup> He says that in the days of King Felmidius the Norwegians went with a great fleet to Ireland in the year 838, occupied the land, slaughtered the people, and destroyed nearly all the churches. Their leader Turgesius in many struggles and severe battles quickly subdued the whole island; and, traversing the kingdom, built fortifications everywhere, and dug vast ditches, some round and some triplex, and also walled fortresses which still remain, although deserted, inasmuch as the natives do not build themselves fortresses, woods being their castles and marshes their dykes.<sup>4</sup> For these reasons I shall assign the year 839 or 840 as the probable year of the arrival of Turgesius, and he probably took part in the many cruel attacks on the Irish described in a previous paper, which were made in the years 841 and 842. In 843 and 844 there was comparative peace there, the former year being unmarked by a single attack, and the latter one by only one, and we can scarcely doubt that during these years—the very years of the Spanish expedition—Turgesius was busy elsewhere. The single attack made in the year 844 is referred to in the ‘Chron. Scotorum,’

<sup>1</sup> *Id.* 9 and 224.

<sup>2</sup> Kruse, 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Top. Hib.* ch. xxxvii.

which tells us that in the year 844, Tolorg, son of Allailedh, chief of Fealla, a place whose situation is not known, was slain by the Gentiles of Loch Ribh, and Finnacan, son of Allailedh, escaped from them.<sup>1</sup> The next year marked the return of the fleet from Spain, and is marked naturally by a considerable list of disasters. Thus we are told Forannan, the abbot of Armagh, was captured by the Gentiles at Cluain Comardha, *i.e.* Colman's Well, near Kilmallock, co. Limerick, together with his reliquaries and people, and they were taken in ships to Limerick.<sup>2</sup>

The account of depredations last described seem to be condensed in a paragraph of the Tract on the Wars of the Danes occurring out of its order, which reads thus: 'There came great sea-belched shoals of foreigners into Mumhain' (*i.e.* Munster), 'so that there was not a point thereof without a fleet. It was by these Bri Gobhann' (the hill of the smith: now Brigown, near Mitchelstown, co. Cork, where there is an old church which once had a round tower) 'was plundered, and Tressach, son of Mechill, was killed.'<sup>3</sup> A fleet of them came also to Ciarraighi Luachra, (*i.e.* the district of Mount Luachir in O'Connor Kerry) 'in the county of Kerry, and plundered as far as Cill Ita' (now Killeedy, four Irish miles from Newcastle, co. Limerick—the site, says Dr. Todd, of a once famous monastery dedicated to St. Ita on the spot called Cluain Creadhail<sup>4</sup>) 'and Cuil Emhin' (a place not now known), 'and the Martini of Munster were plundered by them, and they carried off Forannan, successor of Patrick, from Cluain Comharda to Limerick, and they broke the shrine of Patrick.'<sup>5</sup> The Martini were a tribe descended from the famous Fir-bolgs or Belgæ, of whose territory Emly in the county of Tipperary was the capital.<sup>6</sup>

In the Tract on the Wars of the Danes in Ireland we read of these events thus: In 845, Forannan, the dispossessed abbot of Armagh, was captured by the foreigners at Cluain

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. Scot.* 145. *Annals of the Four Masters*, 466, notes.

<sup>3</sup> *Wars of the Danes*, 15 and li, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* lxx. note 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* 15 and 227.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* xlii. note 5.

Comharda, *i.e.* the town of the sign or token, identified by Dr. Reeves with Colman's Well, a village in the barony of Upper Connello, in the southern border of the county of Limerick.<sup>1</sup> This important ecclesiastic was carried off with his family, his relics, and his books (no doubt a precious capture, as they would include the treasures of Armagh), to their ships at Limerick.<sup>2</sup> This capture was therefore made by the Norse colony at Limerick. The same year Dun Masg was also plundered. 'Dun Masg, the fort of Masg, son of Augen Urgnuidh, the fourth son of Sedna Sithbhaic, and now called Dunamase, is the name of a lofty isolated rock, on which formerly stood an earthen fort or stone castle, but which now contains the ruins of a strong castle, situated in the territory of Ui Crimhthannain, in the barony of Maryborough, in the Queen's County.'<sup>3</sup> Dr. Todd says, at the time we are writing of the stronghold was probably an ecclesiastical one, for the prisoners made there—Aedh, son of Dubdhachrich, abbot of Tir da glass,<sup>4</sup> Cluain Eidhneach, *i.e.* Clonenagh, and Ceithearnach, son of Cundinaisg, vice-abbot of Kildare, probably the male coadjutor of the abbess of that famous institution—were slain. This clustering together of dignitaries from different monasteries to the same refuge shows how the tide of invasion was sweeping over the land, and how the doves had to gather together in strong places to escape the sharp-eyed hawks who were harrying everywhere. This year we also read that the army of Ath Cliath, or Dublin, went to Cluaina au Dobhair (in King's County), and burnt the church of Cellachaigh, *i.e.* Kelleigh, and Nuadbat, the son of Seigen, was martyred there.<sup>5</sup> The Tract on the Wars of the Danes calls Kelleigh Cell Ached. It also mentions the plundering of Cell Dara, or Kildare, Cluain Eidhneach, or Clonenagh, (St. Fintan's monastery in the Queen's County), and Cenn Etigh, now Kinnett, in King's County. The same fleet plundered Cennannas, now Kells, in the county of Meath, Mainister

<sup>1</sup> *Wars of the Danes*, &c. civ. note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. Scot.* 145. *Annals of the Four Masters*, 466, notes.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, 465, note a.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide infra.*

<sup>5</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, 465.

Buite (the monastery of St. Buite or Boetius, now Monasterboice, co. Louth), Daimhliac Cianan, now Duleek (of St. Cianan), Sord of Colum Cille (Swords, near Dublin), and Finnglas Cainnigh, now Finglas, near Dublin, where, says Dr. Todd, there was a famous monastery founded by St. Cainnech or Canice of Achadhbo and of Kilkenny in the sixth century.<sup>1</sup>

Returning once more to the 'Annals,' and still during the year 845, we are told that Turgesius having erected a fortress on Loch Ribh, proceeded to waste Connaught and Meath, and once more burnt Cluainmucnoise with its oratories, and Cluain Ferta Brenainn, *i.e.* Clonfert, which is a famous site still distinguished by beautiful remains. It is situated in the barony of Longford and the county of Galway, close to the banks of the Shannon. Its name is derived from Cluain Ferta, *i.e.* the meadow of the grave, and the monastery there was founded by St. Brendan, the famous navigator, whom I mentioned in a previous paper, and who was born at Tralee, in Kerry, in 484.<sup>2</sup> It was frequently burnt and plundered in later times, but thrived exceedingly, as its beautiful remains attest. These are, however, of a later date than we are treating of. After harrying Clonfert, the invaders proceeded to do the same at Tir da ghlas, *i.e.* the monastery of the two banks, identified by Dr. Reeves with Terryglass, in the county of Tipperary, and also Lothra, now Lorrha, a famous foundation of St. Ruadhan or Rodan in the same county,<sup>3</sup> and numerous cities.<sup>4</sup> These events are thus narrated in the Tract on the Wars of the Danes in Ireland: 'After this came Turges upon Loch Ri; from thence were plundered Meath and Connaught, and Cluainmicnois, and Clonfert of Brennan, and Lothra, and Tir da ghlas, and Inis Celtra were plundered by him, and the church of Loch Derg (*i.e.* the expansion of the Shannon so-called) in like manner. Cluainmicnois was taken by his wife. It was on the altar of the great church she used to

<sup>1</sup> *Wars of the Danes*. &c. 19, and introduction, lxi.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Dunraven's *Irish Arch.* i. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Wars of the Danes*, xlviii.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. Scot.* 145. *Annals of the Four Masters*, 467.



give her answers: Otta was the name of the wife of Turges. The Connaught men gave him battle, in which was slain Maelduin, son of Murghius, heir-apparent of Connaught.'<sup>1</sup> Ota or Otta is, as Dr. Todd says, clearly the Scandinavian name Aude or Auda.<sup>2</sup> The statement about her giving her audiences (or oracular answers, as another version gives it) from the altar is a singularly interesting one, and seems to show she was one of those 'wise women,' or female prophets, so often named in the Sagas, and to whom we hope to return on another occasion. She seems to have converted the sacred precincts of Cluainmicnois into the scene of her Delphic utterances.

Returning once more to the 'Annals,' we find that the Irish had ample revenge in this year, 845, for much which they had suffered. We are told that Nial, son of Aedh, gained a victory over them in Magh Itha, a plain in the barony of Forth, co. Wexford; but a more important success is also mentioned. Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruainaidh, who was then king of Meath, but presently became overking of Ireland, captured Turgesius and drowned him in Loch Uair, now Lough Owel, near Mullingar, in the county of Westmeath.<sup>3</sup> This was indeed a notable event, for Turgesius was no doubt the supreme chief of all the Irish Norsemen, and a very important person. Giraldus Cambrensis has a curious story about his death, which has been too generally discredited,<sup>4</sup> and may contain more in it than is generally supposed. At least it is gratuitous to suppose that it was an invention of Giraldus, and it probably contains a tradition of some value. According to him Turgesius was betrothed to a daughter of Omach lacheli (*i.e.* Malachi, the same name which the Irish write Maelseachlainn), king of Meath. The marriage was to be celebrated on an island in a certain lake in Meath, called Lochyren, *i.e.* Loch Erne, and the young lady repaired there with fifteen companions. Turgesius also went with his nobles. The fifteen companions just named were not girls, however, but beardless boys disguised,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 13 and 226.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* xlix, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, 467, note g.

<sup>4</sup> Todd, *Wars of the Danes*, xlv. 2.

who carried swords under their clothes, which they withdrew at an opportune moment and killed Turgesius.<sup>1</sup>

It is at least curious that the king's name should be rightly recorded by Giraldus, and that he should also have known that he was king of Meath then, and not king of Ireland. Meanwhile, I would mention that there are still traditions about Turgesius at Dun Turgeis or Dun Dairbheis (so-called doubtless from him), and Lough Leane, near Castle-Pollard, in Westmeath, where, say the editors of the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' some strange traditional stories are still told of him and the Irish monarch Maelseachlainn. He had also another fortress at Rinn duin, near St. John's, on Lough Ree, but it seems no local traditions are there preserved of him now.<sup>2</sup>

We must now continue our story. The history of the wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill tells us how, the same year in which Forannan was taken prisoner, the foreigners went to Roscrea in Eli (*i.e.* Ely O'Carroll, in King's County and part of Tipperary), on the festival of Paul and Peter, when the fair there had begun, and the invaders were defeated, and many of them killed, including their leader Onphile (written Oilfin, in some MSS., and perhaps meant for Halfdene, as Dr. Todd suggests). He was struck with a stone and thus perished. Some of the men of Munster were fasting the night before to propitiate Peter and Paul. The notice concludes in the grim words: 'Much indeed of evil and distress did they receive, and much was received from them in those years which is not recorded at all.'<sup>3</sup>

The next year, *i.e.* 846, we read in the 'Chron. Scotorum' that a battle was gained over the Connaught men by the foreigners, in which Rigan, son of Fergus, Mughron, son of Diarmaid, Aedh, son of Catharnach, and others fell.

The same work then goes on to mention the death of Donnchadh, son of Amhalgaidh, lord of Uí nEctach.<sup>4</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, 468, notes.

<sup>2</sup> *Gir. Cam. Top. Hib.* xl. *Annals of the Four Masters*, 466, note d.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* introduction, lvii. (notes 15-17) and 227.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* 147.

last death is coupled in the 'Annals of the Four Masters' with that of Clothnia, lord of Corca Laeghdhe.<sup>1</sup> Now the latter chieftain is expressly said in the Tract on the Wars of the Danes to have been killed by the invaders. This is thus stated: 'The south of Erin also gave them battle under Donnchadh, son of Amhalgaedh (pronounced Awley), king of the Eoganacht Ua Neit (rather Ua n Eochach—he was chief of Munster), and Clochna, king of Corca Laighe, was killed by them.'<sup>2</sup> MS. L. adds that Donnchadh was killed at Corcach.<sup>3</sup> The same year, according to the 'Four Masters,' the freebooters plundered and burnt Cuil Caissine, now Coolcashin, in the barony of Galmoy and county of Kilkenny. Cuil Moine (Colooney, in co. Sligo) was also plundered by the fleet of the Cailli (some sobriquet of the invaders which we cannot now explain). We are told a fortnight's siege was laid to them by Cearbhall, son of Dunlaing, and they were afterwards dreadfully slaughtered.<sup>4</sup>

The next year, *i.e.* 847, a great victory was gained over Agond (? Hakon, suggests Mr. Hennessy) by Cerbhall, son of Dunghal, lord of Osraighi or Ossory, in which 1,200 of the enemy were slain. The 'Annals of the Four Masters' tells us the victory was won at Carn Brammit over the foreigners of Ath Cliath or Dublin.<sup>5</sup> We are told by the same authors that this year Imleach Iubhair, *i.e.* Emly in Tipperary, was first plundered by the Gentiles.

In 848, according to the 'Irish Annals,' the invaders were severely defeated at least in four different engagements in different parts of the island. First, we read that Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruainaidh, gained a battle over them at Forach (now Farragh, near Skreen, co. Meath), where 700 of them fell. Secondly, Olchobar, king of Mumhaun or Munster, and Lorcan, son of Cellach, king of Leinster, gained a victory over them at Sciagh Nechtain, *i.e.* Neachtains Shield, the name of a place near Castle-Dermot, co.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* i. 470.    <sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 19.    <sup>3</sup> *Id.* note 8, and introduction ix.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, i. 471.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. Scot.* 147-9. *Annals of the Four Masters*, 475.

Kildare,<sup>1</sup> and there Tomrair earl was slain, and 1,200 with him. Tomrair is called the tanist of the king of Lochlann, *i.e.* of Norway, in the 'Chron. Scotorum,'<sup>2</sup> while in the 'Ulster Annals' he is styled the next or second in power to the same king.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Todd explains the term as meaning heir-apparent or next in succession to the throne. The name Tomrair or Tomar has been tentatively identified by Dr. Todd with the Scandinavian name Thormodr. Dr. O'Donovan, the learned editor of the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' has an interesting note on him which I shall transcribe. He says: 'This prince's ring was preserved by the Danes at Dublin in the year 994, when it was carried off by Maelsechlainn II., king of Ireland, and there are strong reasons for believing that he was the ancestor of the Danish kings of Dublin. The pedigree of Imhar or Ifars, the ancestor of the Danish kings of Dublin, is given in none of the genealogical works as yet discovered, and in the absence of direct evidence it is reasonable to assume that, as the Danes of Dublin had his ring or chain in 994, this ring or chain descended to them as an heirloom from him.'<sup>4</sup>

On turning to the year 993 in the 'Chron. Scotorum' we in fact read: 'The ring of Tomar and the sword of Carlus were forcibly taken by Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall, from the foreigners of Ath Cliath.'<sup>5</sup> The ring was doubtless, as Dr. Todd says, one of those deemed sacred by the Northmen, and upon which oaths were sworn. Guthrum, it will be remembered, swore to keep the pact he made with Alfred on his ring.<sup>6</sup>

In the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' in the year 942, in reporting the destruction of Ath Cliath or Dublin by the Irish, the authors insert a poem in which the Scandinavians of Dublin are referred to as Muintir-Tomar, *i.e.* the sept or stock of Tomar).<sup>7</sup> On this Dr. O'Donovan remarks: 'If we examine

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 370, note b.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, i. 474, note a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. 475.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* 235. See also *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub an. 994.

<sup>6</sup> See *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* sub an. 876.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* i. 653.

the Irish tribe names in which Muintir is prefixed, we shall find that the second part of the compound is invariably the name of the progenitor of the tribe, as Muintir-Maelmordha, Muintir-Murchadha, Muintir-Eolais, Muintir-Chinaetha, which were the tribes of the O'Reillys, O'Flahertys, MacRannalls, and MacKinaws, who according to their pedigrees respectively descend from Maelmordha, Murchadh, Eolus, and Cinaeth, the genitive cases of whose names form the latter part of the tribe names. In this genealogical sense, in which it should be taken at this period, Muintir-Tomar would unquestionably denote the race of Tomar. In the modern Irish language Muintir is more extensive in its application, and means people or family, whether descendants, co-relatives or followers.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Todd says Tomar or Thormodr seems to have become a sort of common title given by the Irish to all the kings of Dublin, who are called chieftains of Tomar.<sup>2</sup> The king of Dublin is called Torc Tomar, *i.e.* 'Prince Tomar.'<sup>3</sup> These statements seem to me to be worthy of acceptance, except that of the relationship of Ivar to Tomrair, which, as I shall show in another paper, is very improbable. We have mentioned two of the defeats sustained by the invaders at the hands of the Irish in 848. The third was the victory gained by Tigernach, king of Loch Gabhar (Lagore, in co. Meath), over the Gentiles at Daire-Disert-Dachonna, where twelve score of them were slain by him. The name of the site of this battle, which has not been identified, means the oak wood of St. Dachonna's desert or wilderness.<sup>4</sup> This same year the Eoghanact Chaisil (the northern Eoghanact, a branch of the Eoghanact or sept of Eoghan Mor, seated near Cashel) gained a victory over the invaders at Dun Maciltuile, *i.e.* Maciltuile's fort, a place now unknown, in which 500 of them perished. At the same time Olchobar, king of Munster, led

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, i. 475-6, notes.

<sup>2</sup> *Book of Rights*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* 207. *Wars of the Danes, &c.*, introduction, lxvii. notes.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. Scot.* 149. *Annals of the Four Masters*, 476, note c.

an army to attack the fort of Corcach, which belonged to the foreigners.<sup>1</sup> The invaders must have been greatly weakened by these attacks, for we read how the following year (namely 849) Maelsechlainn and Tighernach, both already named, plundered Dublin—the great stronghold of the foreigners in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> The same year Maelbresail, son of Cernach, king of Mughdhorn (*i.e.* Cremorne, in co. Monaghan), who had adopted a religious life, was murdered by the invaders.<sup>3</sup> We are also told that a fleet of seven score ships of the people of the king of the foreigners went to contend with the foreigners that were in Ireland before them, so that they disturbed Ireland between them.<sup>4</sup> I am inclined to think that this is a mistaken reference to the important event reported two years later by the same authorities. In 850 we read how Cinaedh, son of Conaing, king of Connaught, rebelled against Maelsechlainn, with the help of the foreigners, and spoiled Ireland from the Shannon to the sea, both churches and territories; and he plundered the island of Loch Gabhar, *i.e.* of Lough Gower or Logore, near Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath, and burnt it (*i.e.* probably the monastery there) and levelled it with the ground. They also burnt the oratory of Treoit, within which were 260 people, and the oratory of Nuarrach, with sixty men in it.<sup>5</sup> The next year we are told that Eochaidh, son of Cearnach, lord of Feara Rois, was slain by the foreigners.<sup>6</sup>

We now reach a memorable turn in the history of the invaders in Ireland—namely, the campaign of Gorm there. We have already tried to trace him westward as far as Devonshire.

If we turn to the 'Irish Annals' at this time, we are there told that a terrible struggle took place between a band of the foreigners called the Finngaill, or White Gentiles, and another band called the Dubhgaill, or Black Gentiles. This is the first time the phrases are used, so far as I know. There has

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 149. *Annals of the Four Masters*, 475-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. Scot.* 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* 151.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. Scot.* 150, 151. *Annals of the Four Masters*, 477.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 151. *Annals of the Four Masters*, 479-81.

<sup>6</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, 483.

been a great deal of controversy as to the exact meaning to be attached to the two words. Most writers would understand by White Gentiles the Norwegians, and by Black Gentiles the Danes ; but this I believe to be in some measure a misapprehension. Danes and Norwegians were the same race, with the same religious habits, costume, &c., &c., and merely differentiated by being ruled over by different princes. I cannot think that in these days they would be, *qua* race, distinguished by separate synonyms. My view is an entirely different one. I believe that by White Gentiles are simply meant the Christian Gentiles, and by Black Gentiles their pagan brethren. When Turgesius was killed, as I have mentioned, his people were probably left without a leader, and very probably, to protect their persons and property, became Christians, just as the followers of Harald Klak had done before ; and I believe that at this time the Norse settlers in Ireland were nominally Christians. This accounts for their interference in the domestic Irish politics of this time, and also for the savage attack made upon them by the Black Gentiles, who were led, as I shall show presently, by Horm or Gorm, and who probably, in punishing them, was not only punishing those who had been false to his old gods, but those who had passed from the control of their own princes, and were probably now more or less subject to the Irish princes. No doubt White and Black Gentiles in the specific instance means Norwegians and Danes ; but the real significance of the term is Christian and pagan Gentiles.

The 'Chron. Scotorum' dates the arrival of the Dubh Ghenti or Black Gentiles at Dublin in 851, and tells us they came in seven score ships, inflicted great slaughter on the Finn Gaill, *i.e.* the white foreigners, and they devastated the fortress, both people and property.<sup>1</sup> It adds that they made another attack with great havoc at Linn Duachaill,<sup>2</sup> a place probably situated at the junction of the rivers Glyde and Dee, where the village of Annagassan now stands.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Todd's introduction to *Wars of the Danes*, lxii.-iii. note.



In the Brussels fragment we have a highly rhetorical account of this invasion, which, like others in that work, as the learned editor suggests, seems to be abstracts from bardic descriptions of fights. I shall not spoil the narrative by any paraphrase. It begins abruptly thus : ' As now the sentinels of the Lochlanns were vigilantly observing the sea, they saw a great marine fleet coming towards them. They were seized with great fear and terror. Some of them said that they were Lochlanns who were coming to aid and assist them ; but others, who understood better that they were Dannites, *i.e.* Danes, who came to plunder and rob them, and this was indeed the truth. The Lochlanns sent a very swift ship towards them to know who they were, and the swift ship of the young man aforesaid came alone to one of the other ships, and the two ships met face to face ; and the steersman of the Lochlann ship asked, " Ye, O men," said he, " from what country have ye come upon this sea ? Have ye come with peace or with war ? " The answer which the Danes gave him was to discharge a large shower of arrows at him. The crews of the two ships set to at once, and the ship of the Danes overcame the ship of the Lochlanns, and the Danes killed the crew of the ship of the Lochlanns. The Danes then altogether made for the place where the Lochlanns were, and arrived at the shore they fought a battle fiercely ; and the Danes killed thrice their own number of them, and they beheaded every one they killed. The Danes brought the ships of the Lochlanns with them to a port, and they also took the women, the gold, and all the property of the Lochlanns with them : and thus the Lord took away from them all the wealth which they had taken from the churches and sanctuaries and shrines of the saints of Erin.

' Now at this time Maelsechlainn, the successor of Nial Caille as overking of Ireland, sent messengers for Cinaeth, son of Conaing, king of Cianachta [*i.e.* Ciannachta Brigh, in Meath, a district extending from the baronies of Upper and Lower Duleek to the Liffey], and it was he who had burned

the churches and oratories of the saints, as if to consult with him how they should act with respect to the cause of the Danes, for there was a kind of peace between Maelsechlainn and Cinaeth; and though Cinaeth was labouring under a disease of his eye, he nevertheless came to meet Maelsechlainn with a host about him as if it were to guard him. After this Maelsechlainn, Cinaeth, and Tigernach, king of Breagh [*i.e.* the eastern part of Meath], met together, and Maelsechlainn's desire was that he and the king of Breagh should kill the king of Cianachta. Maelsechlainn, however, did not do this at once, for Cinaeth had more forces, and he was afraid that mutual slaughter might take place. What he did was to wait till the next morning. Maelsechlainn feigned false reasons for which they should come to the same place the next morning, and he ordered the forces [of Cinaeth] to go away. When his army went away from Cinaeth, Maelsechlainn came with a great host to meet Cinaeth before it was clear daylight, and Maelsechlainn said with a loud, fierce, and hostile voice to Cinaeth, "Why," said he, "hast thou burned the oratories of the saints, and why hast thou destroyed their sanctuaries and their writings, the Lochlanns assisting thee?" Cinaeth knew that it would be of no avail to him to make use of fair speeches; what he did was to remain silent. That noble, goodly-born, brave youth was afterwards dragged out and drowned in a dirty streamlet, by advice of Maelsechlainn, and thus he perished.<sup>1</sup> The 'Chron. Scotorum,' in describing this event, says Cinaeth was drowned in a lake (rather river), *i.e.* the Ainge. Dr. O'Donovan tells us this is the river Nanny, flowing through the middle of Cianachta Breagh, and dividing Upper and Lower Duleek.<sup>2</sup> His death, we are told, was to the satisfaction of all the good men of Erin, and of the comarb of Patrick especially.<sup>3</sup>

In the year 852 we read how the foreigners of Linn Duachaill, *i.e.* the Norwegians who had been recently attacked

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 115-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, 480.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. Scot.* 151.

by the Danes, devastated Armagh on the day of Samh Chasg, literally summer Easter, and apparently answering to the fifth Sunday after Trinity.<sup>1</sup> The White Gentiles seem to have determined to revenge themselves, for we are told 160 of their ships (the Annals of Ulster say 28 ships<sup>2</sup>), arrived to fight the Black Gentiles at Snamhaignech, called Snamh Eidhneach by the 'Four Masters' and Snamh Ergda in the 'Wars of the Danes.' By this name Carlingford Loch is meant. Dr. Todd says that Dr. Reeves has shown that the Danish settlement at Snamhaignech was near Caol uisc, or Narrow Water, at the head of Carlingford Loch.<sup>3</sup> The two foes fought together, we are told, during three days and three nights; but the Black Gentiles were successful, so that their opponents abandoned their ships to them. Of their leaders Stain (doubtless Stein or Steinar) escaped fleeing, and Jercne or Jargna (probably Eirekr) was beheaded.<sup>4</sup>

The Tract on the Wars of the Danes, which calls the victors 'Black Gentile Danars,' tells us the vanquished had 5,000 men killed.<sup>5</sup> The Brussels fragment has some curious details of the fight. We there read that in the fifth year of the reign of Maelsechlainn, *i.e.* 851, the two chiefs of the fleet of the Lochlanns, *i.e.* Zain and Jargno, collected great hosts from every quarter against the Danes. They afterwards assembled to the number of seventy ships, and proceeded to Snamhaignech, where the Danes were stationed at that time. 'There,' we read, 'they fought on either side, and engaged in a hard and stubborn battle on either side, for we have never heard before this time of so great a slaughter at sea as was caused between them, that is, between the Danes and the Lochlanns; but the Danes were defeated. After their defeat, being pressed by famine, they assembled their people and were thus addressed by their chief Horm:—

"Hitherto," he said, "ye have gained many victories, although ye have been defeated here by superior forces. Listen

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Scot.* 152, note i.    <sup>2</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, 484, note f.

<sup>3</sup> *Wars of the Danes*, introduction lxiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. Scot.* 153.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* 19.

to the words which I shall say unto you. Every victory, every triumph and every fame which ye have gained, was obscured by the little fame of that day. Look ye sharp to the battle which ye shall next make with the Lochlanns, for your women and all your property are in their hands as well as your ships; and they are rejoicing for having gained victory and triumph over you! What is proper for you now to do is to go unanimously against them, as if ye did not think of life, but not to be waiting for death, and to revenge yourselves upon them; and though ye may not gain a prosperous victory thereby, ye shall have whatever our gods and our fate will give us; if it be of no advantage to us there shall be at least equal slaughter on either side. This is another advice of mine to you. This St. Patrick, against whom these enemies of ours have committed many evils, is archbishop and head of the saints of Erin. Let us pray to him fervently, and let us give honourable alms to him for our gaining victory and triumph over these enemies." They all answered him, and what they said was, "Let our protector," said they, "be the holy Patrick, and the God who is Lord over him also, and let our spoils and our wealth be given to His Church."'<sup>1</sup>

In regard to this incident Dr. Todd says it was probably invented to blacken the Norwegians, whose depredations were especially directed against the churches and religious houses of Ireland, and who are therefore represented as having been punished by the intervention of Heaven. He adds, further, 'The story of their vow to St. Patrick is not in itself incredible. The doctrine of tutelary saints, whose patronage was especially granted to certain territories, was so closely allied to the pagan notion of tutelary gods, that it readily commended itself to the heathen, who knew the Christianity of that age only by this prominent feature of it.'<sup>2</sup> To this I would add that the incident is an exact parallel to what we know occurred among the Swedes more than once, as reported by St. Rembert, and as we described in a previous paper, and we must also consider what the surroundings of the circumstances were. The

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 119-21.

<sup>2</sup> *Wars of the Danes*, lxiv. note.

year before the Danes arrived in Ireland, as we have seen, Cinaeth, or Kenneth, the son of Conaing, at the instigation of the foreigners, devastated the country of the O'Neills from the Shannon to the sea. It is clear, therefore, that there was a great feud going on in Ireland among the native chieftains, on one side being Maelsechlainn, the overking of Ireland, who was the especial friend and patron of the so-called congregation of St. Patrick, that is, doubtless, the Monastery of Armagh, and on the other was Cinaeth, supported by a subsidiary chief in alliance with the Norsemen then in Ireland, who, as I suppose, were Christians. Again, the latter had a fortress, or settlement, at Linn Duachaill, and which was attacked by the Danes. We are told expressly in the 'Chron. Scotorum' that, between the first and the second struggles between the White and Black Gentiles, the foreigners of Linn Duachaill devastated Armagh. This, therefore, shows that in invoking St. Patrick the followers of Horm were in their view invoking assistance from one who had been shamefully wronged by their enemies, and whose tutelary protection they might well invoke—a course to which they were probably incited by Kenneth's Irish enemies.

Let us now revert to our narrative. Having determined to put themselves under the tutelage of St. Patrick, the Danes joined battle with the Norwegians. Zain, styled here half king of the Lochlanns, and Matodan, king of Ulster, seem to have attacked the Danes on one side, and Jargna on the other side. This battle was a hard fought one, says the narrative. The whizzing of lances, the clashing of swords, the clattering of shields when struck, and the shrieks of soldiers when subdued were heard. At length the Danes, by the help of St. Patrick, gained the victory, although outnumbered three or four-fold. They then entered the Norwegian camp, where they killed some, captured others, and put the rest to flight, and captured great treasures of gold and silver. Zain himself was not in the battle, being absent elsewhere, holding a council, and when he arrived at the camp he found not his own people, but the enemy in possession. The author says that,

independently of those killed by the Danes, 5,000 well-born Norwegians besides soldiers of lower grade perished.<sup>1</sup> The Brussels fragment concludes the episode with a wildly picturesque incident. It tells us that Maelsechlainn, or Malachy, who was then the chief king of Ireland, sent ambassadors to the Danes, and at their arrival the Danes were cooking, and the supports of their cauldrons were heaps of the bodies of the Lochlanns, and one end of the spits on which the meat was hung was stuck into the bodies of the Lochlanns, and the fire was burning the bodies, so that they belched forth from their stomachs the flesh and the fat which they had eaten the night before.

The ambassadors of Maelsechlainn beheld them in this condition, and they reproached the Danes with this savage conduct. The Danes replied, 'This is the way they would like to have us.' 'They had a great wide trench filled with gold and silver to give to Patrick, for the Danes were a people who had a kind of piety, *i.e.* they gave up meat and women awhile for piety. Now this battle gave good courage to all the Gaedhil, *i.e.* the native Irish, on account of this destruction brought upon the Lochlanns.'<sup>2</sup> There can be small doubt that the Gorm of these incidents is the Guthrum, nephew of Eric, who, we are expressly told, as I have pointed out, was at this time an exile from home and engaged in piratical raids elsewhere. None other but he was likely to command such a large force, and we are expressly told he was the leader of the Danes as contrasted and opposed to the Norwegians. The Brussels fragment, after describing these events, tells us that the same year Maelsechlainn gained a battle over the pagans, and the Cianachta defeated the Gentiles a second time in battle.<sup>3</sup> The 'Ulster Annals' in reporting this says: 'A slaughter was made of the foreigners east of Breagh [*i.e.* the eastern part of Meath], and another at Rath Aldain [now Rathallon, in the parish of Moorechurch, near Duleek, in the east of Meath], both in one month.'<sup>4</sup> These victories were no

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 123.<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 115-25.<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* 125.<sup>4</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, 485.

doubt gained over the old settlers and not the Danes, who seem after their victory to have left Ireland for awhile, and we next find them on the opposite coast, for we read in the 'Annales Cambriæ,' and the 'Brut y Tywysogion,' that in 853, Mon, *i.e.* Mona or Anglesea, was ravaged by the *Black Gentiles*.<sup>1</sup>

I ought to add here that the 'Annales Cambriæ,' three years earlier, have the entry 'Cinnen a gentilibus jugulatur,' which the Brut y Tywysogion gives, 'Cyngen was strangled by the Pagans.'<sup>2</sup> This was perhaps the result of a raid by Gorm, when on his way to Ireland.

They were not long in returning to Ireland, however, for the Brussels fragment goes on to say: 'At this time came the Danes [that is, Horm and his people] to Cearbhall, son of Dunlaing [the king of Ossory], and Cearbhall assisted them against the Lochlanns, for they were afraid of being overpowered by the stratagems of the Lochlanns. He therefore took them to him honourably, and they frequently accompanied him in gaining victories over the foreigners and the Irish.'<sup>3</sup>

'In the same year [*i.e.* 852 or 853], the men of Munster sent messengers to Cearbhall, son of Dunlaing [to request] that he would come, bringing the Danes with him, and the rising out of Osraighe, to assist and relieve them against the Northmen [Norwegians], who were harassing and plundering them at that time. Now Cearbhall responded to this [call], and he commanded the Danes and the Osraighe to proceed fully assembled to relieve the men of Munster, and this was accordingly done at this summons. Cearbhall afterwards came forward to attack the Lochlanns with a great host of Danes and Gaedhils. When the Lochlanns saw Cearbhall with his host, or people, they were seized with great fear and dread. Cearbhall went to a high place, and he began to address his own people first, and he said, as he looked upon the deserted lands around him: "Do ye not perceive," said he, "how the Lochlanns have desolated these lands, having carried off their cattle and killed their

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 835 and 845.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* 131.



inhabitants? If they be more powerful this day than we, they will do the same in our territory. But as we are very numerous this day, let us fight bravely against them. Another reason for which it is right for us to fight bravely is that the Danes, who are along with us, may not perceive cowardice or want of heroism in us, for it may happen that, though they are on our side this day, they may hereafter be against us. Another reason is, that the men of Munster, whom we have come to relieve, may understand our hardihood, for they, too, are often our enemies." He afterwards addressed the Danes, and what he said to them was: "Exhibit your bravery this day, for the Lochlanns are your radical enemies, for ye fought battles, and slaughtered one another formerly. It is well for you to have us with you against them this day, and, moreover, it is not worth your while to let us observe dastardliness or cowardice among you." They all made answer, both Gaeidhil and Danes, that neither weakness nor cowardice should be observed in them. They afterwards rose as one man at that time to attack the Lochlanns. However, when the Lochlanns observed this, they did not close to give battle, but fled to the woods, leaving their property behind. The woods were surrounded on every side upon the Lochlanns, and they were killed with great slaughter. Up to this time the Lochlanns had not suffered so great a loss in all Erin. At Cruachain in the Eoghanacht this victory was gained. Cearbhall thus returned to his house with victory and triumph. Horm and his people were afterwards escorted by Cearbhall to the king of Teamhair. The king of Teamhair welcomed him and gave him great honour. He afterwards went to sea.<sup>1</sup>

Gorm now seems to have returned once more to Denmark, and to have gathered together a great armament with which to revenge himself on his uncle Eric, the Danish king, with whom he had been at issue for some time, as we have seen. This important struggle and its results I shall describe in another paper.

<sup>1</sup> *Brussels Fragment*, 131-6.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

## A SELECTION FROM THE MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA.

In writing this summary of recent historical and archæological publications, it will be best perhaps to deal with the subject chronologically, giving the first place to books treating of ancient history. And here we meet at the onset with the name of Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, the savant to whom the science of Assyriology owes so much.<sup>1</sup> As he was the first, or nearly the first, to unveil before us the mysteries of cuneiform inscriptions, and of the invaluable literature which these inscriptions embody, so he continues to enrich our knowledge of this branch of history, and amidst a multiplicity of other occupations, he still retains the keenest tastes for his original pursuits. The splendid *livraison* now before us is Part II. of Vol. V. of a *corpus inscriptionum* issued at a considerable expense by the trustees of the British Museum; it reproduces thirty-four plates illustrating details and difficulties

of every kind: grammatical, chronological, historical, &c. The syllabary on Plates 36 and 37, and the tables on Plate 47, are peculiarly interesting from the linguistic point of view, and they will form an excellent supplement to Mr. Sayce's Grammar. Plates 53 and 54, comprising letters, serve not only to exemplify the peculiarities of the language, but also to furnish us with information respecting certain persons and localities which do not occur in what may be called the *official* chronicles of the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs. We may remind our readers that the 'Transactions' of the Society of Biblical Archæology contain comments on several of the texts published by Sir Henry Rawlinson.

## HISTORY OF BURMA.

Lieut.-General Sir ARTHUR PHAYRE'S volume<sup>2</sup> treats also, not entirely, but to a great extent of ancient history, and therefore we shall notice it here. It professes to be a brief history of Burma,

<sup>1</sup> *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia* By Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson, assisted by T. G. Pinches. Vol. V. Published by the Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Burma.* By Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Phayre. Svo. London: Trübner & Co.

including Burma proper, Pegu, Taungu, Tenasserim, and Arakan; but it is remarkably complete, and it is the first attempt, so far as we are aware, to give a consecutive account of one of the most important but least known empires in the East; for the labours of the Rev. Dr. Mason, Captain Burney, and Captain Forbes, however excellent they are in point both of learning and of literary merit, are only of a fragmentary nature. Sir Arthur Phayre enumerates in his preface the sources from which he has derived the materials for the present volume; he remarks on 'the general fulness of the national historical records of the countries which comprised the Burmese empire.' These chronicles are, as a rule, supplemented by ancient stone inscriptions, which, whilst they describe the building of pagodas, include also historical events connected with them, and having a more general character. The inscriptions upon bells cast for religious purposes are likewise trustworthy sources of historical information; finally, secular events are frequently found commemorated in the *Thamaing*, or archives of each principal pagoda. We thus see that our author has had abundance of materials at his disposal, and he compares this fact with 'the scantiness or total absence of

such writings among the ancient Hindu kingdom.' This volume, comprising twenty-two chapters, takes us as far as the year 1830, when, after the war, a British resident was appointed to Burma. The last chapter is devoted to an account of the early European settlements, and the volume terminates with chronological lists of the Kings of Burma, Pegu, and Arakan. It is certainly one of the most useful instalments of Messrs. Trübner's Oriental series.

REGISTRUM EPISTOLARUM  
JOHANNIS PECKHAM, ARCHI-  
EPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS.

If we now come to the mediæval period we also find there a plentiful crop of new publications of more or less importance, but all deserving at least a mention. Let us name in the first place, the correspondence of Archbishop Peckham, illustrating the history of England during the thirteenth century,<sup>1</sup> and the wars between Edward I. and the Welsh. Of the now long series of documents published under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, this instalment is no doubt one of the most valuable, and it will be eagerly sought by students who have taken the history of the Middle Ages as the subject of their researches. Archbishop

<sup>1</sup> *Registrum Epistolarum Johannis Peckham, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*. Edited by Charles Trice Martin. (Rolls Series.) 'Vol. II. 8vo.

Peckham was certainly a model prelate, and his position at the time was an extremely delicate one, because although a personal friend of Llewellyn, he had, on the one hand, to maintain his allegiance to the King, and, on the other, to endeavour to deter the Welsh from an enterprise which was little short of madness, and which was soon to end disastrously for them. Mr. TRICE MARTIN has done his editorial work with his usual care, and added much to our store of information respecting the latter half of the thirteenth century.

#### MEDIÆVAL MILITARY ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND.

It is always an immense advantage, of course, when a writer can corroborate the truth of his descriptions by a *quæque vidi*, and bring in actual observations as a guarantee for his statements. This is exactly the case with Mr. CLARK, and hence the essential merit of his new work ;<sup>1</sup> we may add that as the study of military architecture had been very little prosecuted before he himself took up the subject, he would have found only scant assistance indeed, if he had trusted to *written* information towards the perfecting of his two volumes. They comprise two dis-

tinct parts : 1, a series of essays or disquisitions which have already appeared singly in the pages of sundry magazines, journals, and reviews ; 2, an introduction in twelve chapters based upon these essays, and giving a complete history of military architecture in England. The fortresses described by Mr. Clark amount to more than one hundred, and the various monographs are copiously illustrated with plans and engravings. The work we have thus been noticing reminds us naturally of M. Viollet-leduc's interesting researches ; but it has an originality of its own, and as Mr. Clark limits his observations to Great Britain, he can naturally allow more room for details.

#### THE HISTORICAL CHARTERS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

It would have been astonishing, indeed, under the present political circumstances, and with schemes of municipal reforms freely discussed, if the charters and other documents concerning the City of London<sup>2</sup> had not been once more published as *pièces justificatives* of the great controversy which, according to all probability, is soon to occupy general attention. It is well

<sup>1</sup> *Mediæval Military Architecture in England*. By Geo. T. Clark. London : Wyman. 2 vols. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> *The Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London, with an Introduction and Notes by an Antiquary*. London : Whiting. 8vo.

known that three antiquaries have already attempted to give to historical students editions of these charters; the first, in chronological order, was an anonymous scholar who, in 1745, translated into English, and printed the royal deeds granted from time to time to the Corporation of London. Thirty years later came Northwick's 'New History of London,' containing a selection from these documents, and finally, about the beginning of the present century, appeared Luffman's 'Charters of London.' The author of the work now before us professes to take Luffman as his guide, but he has consulted the originals preserved both at the British Museum and amongst the Guildhall muniments, and the result is a volume which is likely to be useful, although not executed in quite such a scholarly manner as one might have wished.

POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI  
HIGDEN.

There is one more volume of Higden's 'Polychronicon'<sup>1</sup> to be published. It will contain all the elucidatory matter in the shape of appendix, glossary, tables, indices, &c.; but the eighth volume recently edited by Mr. RAWSON LUMBY completes the work itself, and we

are now enabled to appreciate the character of the compilation for which we are indebted to the Benedictine monk of Saint Werburg. Works of that kind do not aim at any originality; they usually consist of extracts from Orosius, Saint Augustine, and other old writers, intermixed with legends and brief memoranda referring to the history of the monastery or convent to which the compiler belonged, and also to contemporary writers of a secular nature. The 'Polychronicon' forms no exception to this rule, but the second chapter of the first book derives a special importance from the fact that Higden gives in it the enumeration of the authorities which he has consulted, and we thus know what historians or chroniclers were familiar to English readers during the fourteenth century. As a literary monument Trevisa's version deserved to be inserted, and we are glad to find it here. Mr. Lumby has also added a second English translation preserved amongst the Harleian MSS., and Caxton's continuation.

CATALOGUE OF THE CHARTERS  
OF WEYMOUTH.

One of the most cheerful signs of the times in the special

<sup>1</sup> *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis: together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century.* Edited by the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby. (Rolls Series.) Vol. VIII. 8vo.

department of historical literature is the large number of excellent publications of a local character (memoirs, chronicles, collections of acts, documents, and charters) which have been issued during the last few years. The most recent work of that kind which has come under our notice is the handsome volume edited by Mr. MOULE,<sup>1</sup> at the request of the Mayor and Corporation of the Borough of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. It consists of a calendar or abstract of original documents arranged under the following heads: 1. Charters concerning the borough. 2. Borough controversies. 3. Minutes of Borough courts, with other law business. 4. General affairs of the borough. 5. Borough finance. 6. Harbour, shipping, and commerce. 7. Church affairs. Extracts from the principal charters or deeds are given, with translations into English whenever necessary, and illustrative notes, these being often of philological as well as historical interest. Mr. Moule has added a brief introduction on the history of Weymouth, and he draws our attention very rightly to the account of the bitter feud which existed for so

long a time between Weymouth and Melcombe Regis; and which, besides leading to acts of violence and manifestation of open hostility, threw so much business into the lawyer's hands. Curious particulars about trade, the price of articles of commodity, and other kindred subjects may be gathered from this volume; but when we consider the geographical situation of Weymouth, it is rather remarkable that the portion of the calendar referring to shipping and commerce should be so meagre and unimportant. A general index, a list of Dorset people, and one of Dorset places add much to the value of the book, which also contains, by way of pictorial illustration, a lithograph representing the seals of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.

#### A HISTORY OF SOUTHAMPTON.

Between Mr. MOULE's volume and the one which Mr. DAVIES<sup>2</sup> has recently published there is the great difference, that the former consists chiefly of materials to be worked out, whereas the latter is a *bonâ fide* history complete in itself, and requiring nothing else but to be carried down to the present day. Why Dr. Speed's manuscript should

<sup>1</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters, Minute Books, and other Documents of the Borough of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis (A.D. 1252-1800), with Extracts and some Notes.* By H. J. Moule. Weymouth: Sherren & Son. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Southampton, partly from the MS. of Dr. Speed in the Southampton Archives.* By the Rev. J. Sylvester Davies. Southampton: Gilbert & Co. 8vo.

never yet have been printed is more than we can say; that it deserved to be brought to light will be at once admitted by anyone who takes the trouble to read the elegant octavo now alluded to. If the Weymouth papers just noticed are singularly deficient in details respecting international trade and political relations with foreign countries, the Southampton documents, on the other hand, supply us with abundance of information on the subject, and therein consists chiefly their value for modern historians. These relations were originally of a decidedly warlike character, and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find frequent accounts of invasions and raids on the part of pirates recruited from amongst the populations of Picardy, Normandy, Genoa, and Spain. The distance from Southampton to the French coast is not very great, and even the rough, clumsy craft of the mediæval epoch could easily and speedily land troops of adventurers eager for pillage. Later on the commercial transactions conducted by the thriving English town took the place of battles and massacres, and the annexation of Aquitaine to the dominions of Henry II., by introducing French commodities into this country inaugurated for Southampton an epoch of pro-

sperity which has been maintained ever since.

#### IRELAND.

The volumes published by Miss HICKSON on Ireland<sup>1</sup> have excited an amount of controversy which can easily be understood. Protestant critics have taken the opportunity of inveighing against the Roman Catholics, whilst these, in their turn, justifying the massacres of 1641-42, on the plea that they merely anticipated a new and terrible persecution, which was designed against their forefathers by the English Government, demur both to Miss Hickson's statements and to the partisan spirit which runs through Mr. Froude's preface. We are very much afraid that this system of mutual recrimination will always exist, and that whatever evidence may be brought forward on one side or on the other, it will be said that something has been kept aside, suppressed, or mutilated. Certain persons have found fault with the vagueness of Miss Hickson's quotations and references, others deny that the Irish Catholics had any reasons to suspect Charles I. of sinister designs and of schemes of persecution; at any rate, we are now in possession of a mass of evidence which will enable students interested in such questions

<sup>1</sup> *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century, or the Irish Massacres of 1641-42, their Causes and Results.* By Mary Hickson. London: Longmans. 2 vols. 8vo.



to examine the whole history of the Irish rebellion much more fully than they could have done before. We can now appreciate with something like accuracy the statements of Leland and Curry, and, further, set ourselves down to the profitable perusal of another work, which we can strongly recommend to the attention of our readers: Mr. O'Connor's impartial and well-written history of the Irish people.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE HISTORY OF CIVILISATION IN SCOTLAND.

One of the most striking and interesting facts connected with Mr. MACKINTOSH's 'History of Scotland' is certainly the social position of the author. He describes himself as a working-man;<sup>2</sup> his days are therefore entirely filled up with duties which cannot be supposed to be of a very intellectual kind, and the time devoted by him to the composition and preparation of the volumes before us is his well-earned leisure. Considered independently of this circumstance, the 'History of Scotland' would be an excellent work; it bears evidence of much sound learning, and must have required a great deal of careful and patient research. The point

of view at which Mr. Mackintosh places himself is decidedly liberal; but he is as free from party spirit as possible, and notwithstanding the title his 'History of Civilisation' contrasts very favourably with Mr. Buckle's more ambitious production.

#### CATALOGUE OF ROMANCES IN DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

Mr. WARD's catalogue of mediæval romances<sup>3</sup> is not only a bibliographical but a literary work of the utmost importance. Some of the articles it contains are real disquisitions on points of mediæval fiction, and they not only complete, but even correct many of the details given in professed histories of literature. As a specimen, we may just notice what our author tells us about the legend of Merlin and about the Arthurian romances. The volume we are now examining is only the first; it embraces the following subjects: Classical romances—British and English traditions—French traditions—Miscellaneous romances—Allegorical and didactic romances. The tales of German origin and those of a miscellaneous character will be discussed in the

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Irish People.* By W. A. O'Connor. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 2 vols. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> *The History of Civilisation in Scotland.* By John Mackintosh. Aberdeen: Brown & Co. 8vo. Vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum.* 8vo. Vol. I. (Printed by Order of the Trustees.)

next volume. The MSS. are in every case fully described, and a general index enables the reader to refer to the various collections in the British Museum.

ANNE BOLEYN: A CHAPTER OF  
ENGLISH HISTORY (1527-36).

The history of Anne Boleyn<sup>1</sup> is now at last placed before the public in a thoroughly complete and satisfactory manner, and in this case, as well as in many others which we might easily name, reality has taken the place of romance. Not only has Mr. FRIEDMANN consulted the documents preserved at the Rolls Office, but he has found much valuable information in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale and the records at Vienna. The life of Anne Boleyn can be divided into two parts, viz. that which preceded Henry's recognition of her as queen, and that which followed. Respecting the former of these epochs, we are not always certain of the facts offered to our acceptance by historians; the real date of Anne's birth is still a matter of doubt, and consequently we do not feel quite sure whether, when the Princess Mary of England went to France in 1514 as the bride of Louis XII., it was Mary or Anne Boleyn who accompanied

Henry VIII. The whole question of our heroine's relations with the King previous to her official recognition (if we may so say) is also one which is open to controversy. The most interesting portions of Mr. Friedmann's work refers to Henry's foreign policy, and to the share which Anne Boleyn had in it. She seems to have been extremely unpopular amongst the English people, who identified her, of course, with the French alliance; and this they regarded as directly contrary to the true national interests. Her jealousy also was intense, and often expressed in the strongest and most savage manner.

DIARY AND LETTERS OF  
THOMAS HUTCHINSON.

On the history of the United States of America two works have reached us, which deserve a brief notice at our hands. The one contains the diary and correspondence of Thomas Hutchinson,<sup>2</sup> Governor of Massachusetts at the time of the War of Independence. It illustrates once more and with great force the blindness of the Court of Saint James, and its total ignorance of the state of public feeling in the English Colonies of North America at the time when

<sup>1</sup> *Anne Boleyn: a Chapter of English History* (1527-36). By Paul Friedmann. London: Macmillan. 2 vols. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts*. Compiled by P. O. Hutchinson. London: Low & Co.

an attempt was made to force upon them the obnoxious tea duty. Hutchinson had to suffer personally from this absurd and more than absurd course of policy, and his house was sacked in 1765 by the Boston mob, on account of his loyalist sympathies. It is a subject of regret that the publication of his correspondence has been so long delayed; it is still more to be regretted that it should have been printed unabridged. We have as yet only the part extending to the year 1775, and as there is still a mass of correspondence going down to 1780, it is clear that unless some excisions and suppressions are made, we shall have to wade through much that is quite uninteresting for the general historian. This is indeed acknowledged in the preface of the present volume.

THE OFFICIAL RECORDS OF  
ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

The Dinwiddie Records<sup>1</sup> belong to the same time, and form part of the collections of the Virginia Historical Society. They are edited, with an introduction and notes, by Mr. BROCK, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian to the Society. Born in 1693, and belonging to an ancient

Scottish family, Robert Dinwiddie was trained to his habits of industry, resolution, and integrity by practice in a Glasgow counting-house, and was about twenty-four years old when he received his appointment as Collector of the Customs in the island of Bermuda, which position he held under several successive commissions. It is in 1751 that Dinwiddie was named Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia; he occupied this important post till 1758, when he was obliged to resign from ill-health. The relations between the representative of the mother country and the local authorities in America seem to have been of a strained character, owing mainly to his firm determination to put down certain abuses which had crept into the administration of the finances; he was continually engaged in disputes with the Assembly, and he also found in Washington (then colonel) a subordinate with whom he could not work very harmoniously. The endeavours of the French to make good their claims to the whole Mississippi valley, and their combination with the savages for that purpose, also marked his tenure of office.

Governor Dinwiddie's correspondence derives its chief interest

<sup>1</sup> *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieut.-Governor of the Colony of Virginia (1751-58), now first Printed from the MS. in the Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, with an Introduction and Notes.* By R. A. Brock. Richmond, Virginia. Vol. I. 8vo.

from the twofold struggle he had to carry on against the French and his own *ent. urage* in Virginia, these opposing all the efforts he made for the protection of the true interests of the colonies ; whilst, on the other hand, they either sanctioned or overlooked the scandalous frauds which were daily committed upon the treasury. This volume should be read in connection with M. Réveilland's recent work on Canada ; it is a most valuable contribution to the history of the English North American colonies, and is preceded by a genealogical account of the Dinwiddie family. The MSS. from which it is printed were purchased in London by Mr. Corcoran, who presented them to the Virginia Historical Society.

#### NONCONFORMITY IN HERTS.<sup>1</sup>

This large work has been chiefly provided by private subscription, which has enabled the author to publish copious extracts from his collections. It is this which gives value to the volume, for although the main subject is limited in its scope, the illustrations appended are most useful contributions to

local genealogy of all classes of society. This is a consequence also of the extensive researches carried on by the writer into the acts of the Archdeacons of St. Albans, Huntingdon and Middlesex, in Lambeth Palace library, in that of Dr. Williams and in the Non-Parochial Registers in the custody of the Registrar General. The contents are made accessible by a complete index of all the names mentioned. It becomes to some extent a supplement to the County history of Cussans and the elder writers.

#### A SHORT HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, ROTHWELL, NORTH-AMPTONSHIRE.<sup>2</sup>

This is a short sketch of a small centre of Dissent, which is well drawn up from the records, and contains many details as to the ministers and others, including their pamphlets, and literary essays. It is a useful contribution to local history, printed for private circulation.

#### SALNAMEH.<sup>3</sup>

The Salnameh, or official almanac of Constantinople for

<sup>1</sup> *Nonconformity in Herts.* Being lectures upon the Nonconforming worthies of St. Albans and memorials of Puritanism and Nonconformity in all the parishes of the county of Hertford. By W. Arwick, M.A. Pastor of the Congregational Church, St. Albans, with a map and numerous illustrations. London : Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1884, 8vo. 875 pp.

<sup>2</sup> *A Short Historical Sketch of the Congregational Church, Rothwell, Northamptonshire.* By Edwin W. Wilson, Pastor, Rothwell. Chamberlain, 1883, 12mo.

<sup>3</sup> *1301 Salnameh.* Stamboul : 1301, 12mo. pp. 624.

A. H. 1301, was late in appearance, as it continues to be enlarged, and to contain further information. The list of officials is given still more minutely, and the topographical and statistical matter extended. The statistics of education &c. are given as usual. For the student of Turkey, knowing the language, the *Salnameh* gives the most minute and exact information.

#### MINHADJ AT TÂLIBÎN.<sup>1</sup>

The Government of Netherlands India, like some others, administers Mussulman law to its subjects of that faith. With that object the Government has commissioned M. VAN DEN BERG to edit and translate the *Minhadj at tâlibîn*, of which two volumes are published and the remaining one is complete. The well-known scholar has well carried out his task and the Arabic and French printing of the Government Press at Batavia would do credit to any European establishment.

A short History of Islam in the Indian Archipelago is prefixed.

One chief feature of the work is that it is the chief exposition of the Shafi school of the Sunnis, one well known in Cairo and therefore having a special in-

terest for us. It is also useful for our Malay dependencies, as most of the Mussulmans in the archipelago are Malays.

Those at all acquainted with Mussulman law do not need to be informed that such a treatise is as copious and as clearly defined as any European work can be. It will therefore be welcome to the general student of jurisprudence, who knows how much of ancient law, Hebrew and other, is included in that of Islam. Mr. van den Berg has, however, rendered a further service to the student, for to each article he has attached where possible the corresponding reference the Code Napoléon. One object of the writer is to point out that the institutions of Islam are not to be treated as those of savagery.

#### 'AIDAN, THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH.'<sup>2</sup>

'Aidan, the Apostle of the North,' is not only an endeavour to sketch the noble life of the first Bishop of Lindisfarne, but also to depict the character of the heathenism which Aidan and his brave followers had to confront.

DR FRYER opens the page of Northumbrian history with Oswald's Victory on 'Heaven Field,' and after showing how

<sup>1</sup> *Minhadj at Tâlibîn (Le Guide des Zélés Croyants)*. Par L. W. C. van den Berg. Vol. I. & II. Batavia Government Printing Office, 1882-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Aidan, the Apostle of the North*. By Alfred C. Fryer, Ph. D., M.A., F.R. Hist. S.

Corman's mission was a complete failure, continues the narrative to the death of Oswin and Aidan (651).

Dr. Fryer points out that in the middle of the seventh century, this great Celtic mission, which had sprung from Aidan's labour, seemed as if it would shortly enfold the whole of England, and he shows that the great and lasting result of Aidan's work was the missionary fervour which his zeal created. It was chiefly through the energy and burning zeal of the Northumbrian men, that Mid-Europe received the gospel in the eighth century.

#### PARISH REGISTERS OF HOLY CROSS, CANTERBURY.<sup>1</sup>

As it was in this parish that the greater number of French refugees who flocked to Canterbury in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took up their abode, the Registers are particularly interesting to those who are descended from these families.

In a future volume Mr. COWPER intends to give a list of the names found in these Registers, with the date of the first appearance of each. But the Registers contain more than a dry list of names: in this work nearly eighty different trades and professions are given, beginning

with 'Ale-house keepers,' and ending with 'Woollen-drapers.'

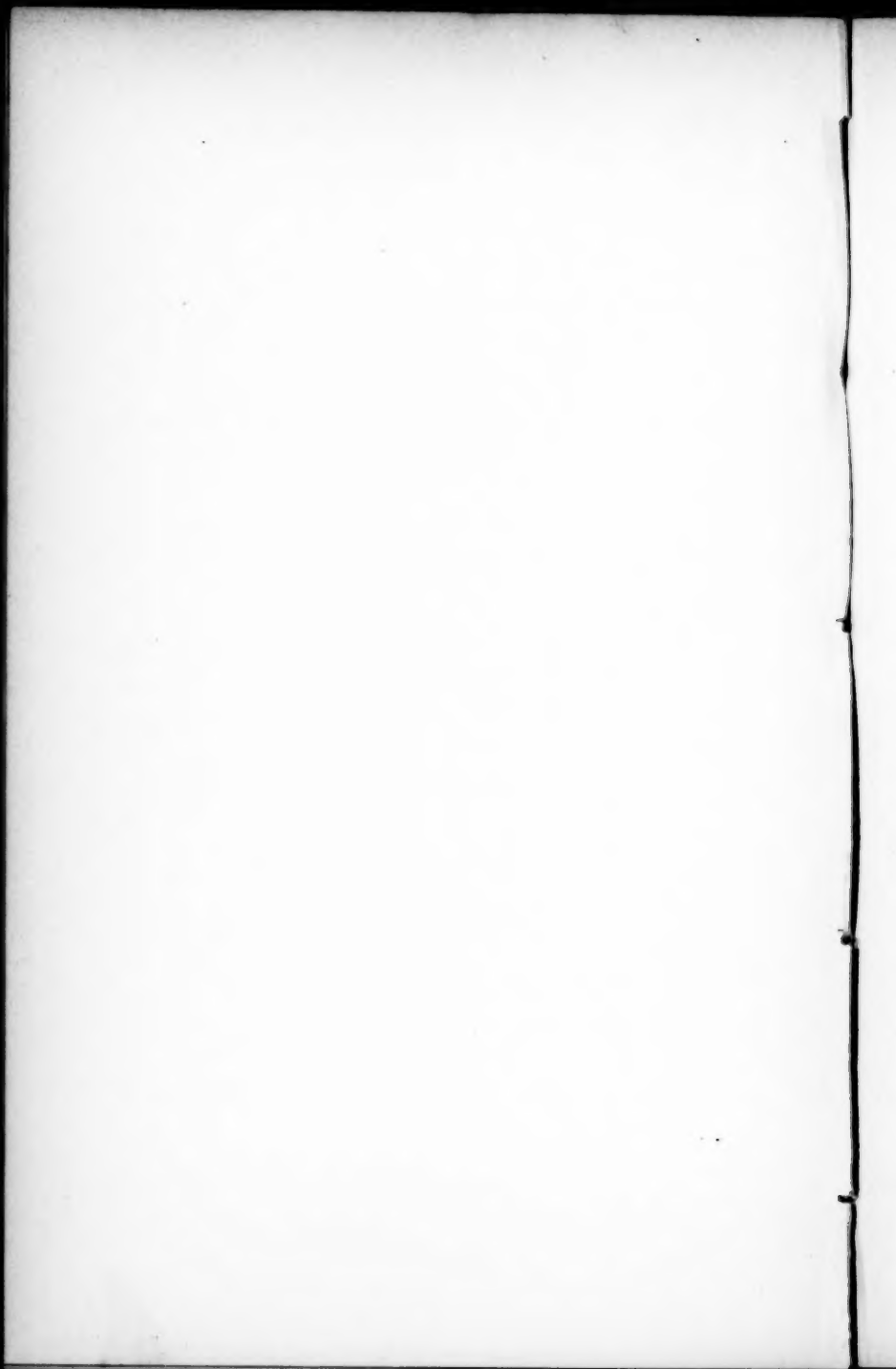
The greater portion of the book is occupied with the 'Overseers' Accounts,' which go back, with certain gaps, to the year 1642. When these accounts were found by the author, 'they were nothing but a confused number of leaves, ignominiously thrust into a sack, and put out of the way, high up in the tower of our Parish Church.' These leaves were arranged according to dates and carefully examined; and then, as the contents seemed to throw a good deal of light on the condition of the poor and on the working of the parochial system, copious extracts were made showing how many rates were levied, what they produced and how the money was expended. Prices of food, clothing, furniture, etc., enter largely into the composition of the book; there are also certain inventories of household furniture, which are important as showing how the houses of the poor were supplied with comforts and necessities in earlier times. The Overseers of Holy Cross were extremely liberal in their allowances to the poor, and it speaks well for them that none were sent empty away. The quotations are all given *verbatim et literatim*, and many of them are extremely quaint. A second

<sup>1</sup> *Our Parish Books and what they tell us: Holy Cross, Westgate, Canterbury.* By J. Meadows Cowper, F.R. Hist. S. Canterbury: Cross & Jackman.

volume, completing the Overseers' Accounts and including the Churchwardens' Accounts, with the list of names above-mentioned, and appendices, will complete the work.<sup>1</sup> We may add that Mr. Cowper is now engaged on the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of St. Dunstan, Canterbury, which reach as far back as the first year of Henry VII.

<sup>1</sup> Only 120 copies of vol. i. were printed.





TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE TREATY OF COMMERCE BETWEEN  
ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN 1786.

By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

(*Read* November 20, 1884.)

THE eighteenth article of the Treaty of Versailles between England and France contained a provision that commissioners should be appointed on either side to draw up new arrangements of commerce between the two nations on the basis of reciprocity and of mutual convenience, and that these arrangements should be completed within the space of two years, dating from January 1, 1784. The insertion of this article had not been effected without difficulty. The views of France and England as to foreign trade were divergent. The French were what in modern language would be called free traders. Vergennes and his advisers had learnt from the physiocrats that the wealth of a country consisted not so much in the amount of gold and silver which happened to be within its borders at any particular time, as in the natural products of the country itself. The English ministers were to a great extent under the dominion of the mercantile system, which taught that the balance for or against the wealth of one country compared with another lay in the larger amount of cash which one of the countries possessed.

Thus, in arranging the conditions of peace, while the French ministers wished for a fresh treaty of commerce with England, the English ministers only desired the renewal of the treaty of commerce of 1713, made at the Peace of Utrecht. This treaty, which never came into complete effect, placed France and England reciprocally on the footing of the most favoured nation, but it was deeply affected by the Methuen treaty between England and Portugal, which gave Portugal a special position towards England superior to that of any nation, however favoured.

The Peace of Versailles was made by Lord Shelburne, with Pitt as his Chancellor of the Exchequer; but when the coalition ministry came into power under the Duke of Portland, Fox was less favourable to the demands of France. It was only by the persistence of the French minister that the insertion of clause 18 was obtained, and the English ministry intended that it should, if possible, remain a dead letter. The divergence of views was still further shown in the declaration and counter-declaration of the two Governments with regard to the clause. The English declaration pointed to a revision of existing treaties, the French counter-declaration to the drawing up of an entirely new treaty.

England showed no anxiety to complete her share of the bargain. The Treaty of Utrecht had been complained of as admitting French linens too readily to England. They amounted to three times as much as the English wool exported to France. The years previous to the peace had witnessed a large development of manufactures in England. Hargreaves had completed his spinning jenny in 1765; Arkwright's first spinning mule worked by water-power dates from 1769; Crompton completed his spinning mule in 1779. There was a natural desire to find a sale for these manufactures in France.

In March 1784 Mr. Craufurd was nominated English commissioner, and Gerard de Rayneval French commissioner. Craufurd, however, stayed in England, making inquiries into smuggling, which was then very prevalent, especially in tea

and brandy. The Count d'Adhémar, French ambassador in England, pressed for Craufurd's departure, and he eventually went to Paris at the end of September 1784. Up to January 1785 nothing had been done, and Adhémar remonstrated with the British Government. Lord Carmarthen, the Foreign Secretary, who, indeed, understood but little of these matters, replied that they had no need of new arrangements, but that they were quite satisfied with the Treaty of Utrecht. Adhémar, replying with great warmth, threatened to abandon the arrangements of Utrecht if the new treaty were not speedily concluded. Barthélemy, writing from England on April 19, 1785, complains that England imports raw cotton from France and re-exports it manufactured, and was also the means of passing into France Indian and Chinese products which were prohibited in England. In order to put pressure upon England to fulfil the engagements which she was so reluctant to conclude, edicts were issued by the French Government in July 1785 forbidding the importation of a number of British manufactures, thus contravening their own principle of free trade. Only raw material was allowed to be imported from England, and shopkeepers were not allowed to exhibit advertisements of '*marchandises d'Angleterre*.'

This strong measure stirred up the English to action. Dorset reports to Carmarthen that the manner of Vergennes towards him, which was at first cordial, has materially changed. Vergennes is vexed because the English have done nothing about the treaty of commerce. He expresses a wish that steps should be taken to establish a more friendly intercourse between the two countries. The treaty of commerce, signed at Utrecht between France and England in 1713, had contained ten articles, the ninth and the tenth of which were not to be valid unless ratified by the English Parliament. Their effect would have been to have re-established the tariff of 1664, placing France in the position of the most favoured nation, and doing away with the privileges which the Methuen treaty had given to Portugal in 1703. The Bill had been rejected by a small majority, and France

was now desirous that these two articles should be put into force. Craufurd explained that England could not admit these articles as a basis for negotiation, upon which Rayneval said that the French were desirous of reciprocity, and that if the English did not approve of this simple principle, they must suggest some other arrangements. 'Nous vous offrons tout,' he said, 'c'est à vous à juger si cela vous convient, et si vous êtes disposés à admettre la réciprocité. Si vous la jugez inadmissible, c'est à vous à indiquer les exceptions.'

On October 6, Hailes, who was Chargé d'Affaires at Paris in the Duke of Dorset's place, writes that he had mentioned the treaty of commerce to Vergennes. He was very ill-humoured from our delay. He complained that no answer had been returned to Rayneval's proposals; he would offer a proportionate reduction of duties upon any article of equal magnitude we might prefer to name, provided we would receive French wines and brandies upon the same footing with those of other countries. Carmarthen replied on October 27 that he was willing to consider propositions for admitting French wines and brandies on favourable terms to England if the French would make similar changes with regard to English products. But he added, 'You must protect us from the wrath of the Portuguese.'

It is necessary in this place to give some account of the Methuen treaty, which so long stopped the way to an amicable arrangement between France and England. The Methuen treaty dates from the war of the Spanish succession, and was concluded for the purpose of attaching Portugal to the Grand Alliance. By it Portuguese wines were to be introduced into England at one-third less than the duty on French wines, and in return all wool except English was excluded from Portuguese markets. Both parties exulted over the treaty as a victory, but in reality it was a disaster for both. From 1675 to 1696 France had sent an average of 15,000 tuns of wine to England, Portugal only 300 tuns. In 1712 England imported 1,161,908 pipes of Portuguese wine and 16,053 pipes of French wine. Intercourse with France was prevented. It

would have been better to have had free trade with France in wool than an exclusive command of the Portuguese market. Bordeaux and Burgundy were the natural exports of France to England. The Methuen treaty prevented English statesmen from making advantageous commercial arrangements with France; on the other hand, the wine trade benefited the Portuguese nobles, but not the common people. The production of grapes drove out that of meat and bread, and Portugal became dependent upon foreign countries for its food supply. Competition also spoilt the profits of the wine trade, and great fortunes were undermined. The habit of drinking port instead of claret did no good to our ancestors in the last century, while the Portuguese peasant, driven from his holding by a feudal superior, was not able to recoup himself by manufactures which the monopoly of England prevented from being established. The English exports to Portugal were much larger than the Portuguese exports to England, and the balance of trade did not offer an encouraging prospect to France.

On October 24 Vergennes announced to Hailes that he should consider the Treaty of Utrecht at an end at the close of the year, and it became known that France, despairing of English friendship, was beginning to negotiate with Holland. The fear of a Franco-Dutch alliance stimulated the English ministry. Craufurd at last sent a reply to Rayneval. He asked what were the articles which France wished should enter England, and promised that England would give similar information, as England was extremely desirous to enter into friendly relations. The news now arrived that France had actually signed a treaty with Holland. This roused into action the master-mind of the Cabinet. Pitt saw that further delay would be dangerous. On December 9, writing in Carmarthen's name, he asked for a further extension of the time, which was just expiring, in order to arrange a commercial system founded on the law of mutual and reciprocal advantage, a system which might form a solid and permanent connection between the trading part of the two

countries. Vergennes replied by granting six months' delay, which might be extended to twelve. William Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, was sent by Pitt for the especial purpose of negotiating the treaty, while France was represented by Gerard de Rayneval.

There is no doubt that the taking of any steps to meet the wishes of the French was due to the initiative of Pitt. It is not likely that George III. knew much of the advantages or disadvantages of commercial treaties, and Lord Carmarthen, the Foreign Secretary, was more than half-hearted in the work. The first two years of his ministry were occupied by jealousy of France; he saw French intrigue in every European movement. In the familiar letters which passed between Carmarthen and Sir James Harris, the ambassador at the Hague, we see the contempt with which they regarded the attention given to cottons and woollens when compared with questions of high policy; and they were never tired of ridiculing the facility of Eden, who was foolish enough to believe that the French could be honest negotiators. On the other hand, Pitt, trained carefully in the best economic science of his age, by nature and education averse to a spirited foreign policy, had found his attention directed by necessity to questions of finance at his first entering into office. At the close of the American war England was practically bankrupt. There was a yearly deficit of three millions; the Three per Cents. were as low as 56. Smuggling, especially in tea and spirits, was carried on to an enormous extent. Far more tea was sold by smugglers than by the privileged East India Company. A large amount of debt was unfunded. Pitt took the most energetic means of remedying these evils. He reduced the tea duties from 50 per cent. to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and thus rendered smuggling unprofitable. He imposed a number of new taxes, many of which have disappeared under the influence of more enlightened legislation. He was thus able in a short time to restore equilibrium, and to place the power and influence of England upon a secure basis. In 1785 Pitt brought forward a measure to establish free trade between England



and Ireland, which did not at that time exist. Resolutions for that purpose were passed by large majorities in the English Parliament, but met with so feeble a support in that of Ireland that they were dropped. It was only to be expected that a minister whose two first years of office had been occupied in these efforts would not allow the opportunity of establishing commercial relations with France to slip. He showed great discrimination in selecting William Eden as a negotiator. He had formerly been attached to the Opposition, and was a great friend of Lord North and Lord Loughborough. But he possessed a clear head and great industry, and probably no better instrument could have been selected for the work. In January 1786 Eden tells his brother Morton that he is spending all the morning at the council board examining merchants and manufacturers. At the same time the treaty had many enemies, both English and French. Fox said that our commercial prosperity had never been so great as when our relations with France were most strained. Adhémar and Barthélemy, the representatives of France in England, were both opposed to the treaty. They were keenly alive to the suspicious conduct of the English Government towards France; they did not see that these feelings were not shared by Pitt. Adhémar warned his country against *Anglomanie*. Even the success of Pitt in transferring the duty upon wine from the customs to the excise, which was done to prevent contraband, and to check the manufacture of British wines, did not open their eyes to his sincerity. A negotiation was set on foot, which has been little noticed by English writers, for transferring the great inventors Watt and Boulton from England to France. This was very nearly carried out, and it is difficult to say what effect such a transference might have had on the comparative development of French and English commerce.

At last, on March 30, 1786, Eden arrived in Paris. He saw the minister Vergennes on the following day. He was introduced to the Royal Family and to M. de Rayneval. To him Eden communicated some minutes of a treaty, which on

April 17 took the form of a project agreed upon by the two negotiators. The chief points of it were as follows: 1. The object of the treaty is to secure friendship and good-will, and an entire liberty of navigation and commerce between France and England and their respective dominions. The hindrances to trade at present existing only tend to encourage contraband. 2. Each nation is to be placed in the position of the most favoured nation as far as is compatible with existing treaties, or with treaties which may be made in future. 3. Any alteration of tariff in the way of abolition is only to take place twelve months after the conclusion of the treaty. Any reduction of tariff is to be made gradually. 4. The present treaty is not to affect existing treaties between France and England, and especially the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. 5. The treaty is to continue in force for ten years. 6. Mutual arrangements are to be made on the basis of reciprocity for the benefit of his Majesty's subjects. Pitt criticised this project in a letter dated April 20. He objected to the liberty of future modification given in the first article, because it would enable either Power to evade the treaty at pleasure, and to render it useless. He also suggested an alteration in the terms of the eighth article, which was intended to apply to Ireland.

On May 5 Pitt proposed in the Commons, and carried his motion with regard to the excise of wine mentioned above. He said in his speech that although the consumption of wine had increased, the legal importation of it had diminished in the last thirty-six years. That on the supposition that the importation of wine was the same now as it was thirty-six years before, the revenue was losing to the amount of 280,000*l.* a year. This proposition had once caused the overthrow of Sir Robert Walpole, but it might now be carried without danger. To remove the duty on wine from the customs to the excise would, by checking smuggling and discouraging the manufacture of English wine, stimulate the importation of foreign wines, and improve the revenue. On May 10 Pitt made to Eden a still more detailed criticism

on the project agreed upon by him and Rayneval. He remarks, in the first place, that the treaty would be of very little use unless it were accompanied by a revocation of the French edicts prohibiting the importation of English manufactures. Secondly, there must be more safeguard that the terms agreed upon by the treaty will not be arbitrarily altered. It is obvious that Pitt did not entirely trust the French on these points. If these matters could be satisfactorily arranged, he thinks it will be best to make a definite treaty at once. In this treaty he is willing to waive the Methuen treaty, and to receive French wines and brandies on the terms of the most favoured nation, or even to make an abatement below the lowest rate of duty at present. In return for this, England should desire the admission of her hardware and earthenware at moderate duties. France formerly sent to England 10,000 or 12,000 tuns of wine, why should she not do so again? France might, under these altered circumstances, send us many wines of a worse growth than claret. The chief point on which there might be a doubt in the English ministry is waiving the Methuen treaty. But considering the present state of our Portugal trade, the dependence in which Portugal must always be upon English markets, and the great advantages to be received from France, in return for what England should give, Pitt is inclined to think that this point ought not to be in the way of the treaty if in other respects desirable. We see in this letter Pitt far in advance of his age. The policy which he was prepared to adopt in 1786 was not accepted in England till 1831 or even 1860. France pressed hard for the abrogation of the Methuen treaty, but King George and the subordinate ministers were too much prejudiced to yield.

We learn the views of the French ministry on the subject by a paper laid before the *Conseil d'État* on May 21. The preamble states that England makes more liberal offers than could have been expected: ought we to accept them? Let us lay down certain economical principles: 1. The more things a nation produces which it does not require for its own use,

the more it should desire to export them. 2. The cultivation of the soil is the solid foundation of prosperity. The exportation of natural products should be encouraged, so as to develop the cultivation. 3. The interest of the cultivators of the soil should always be preferred to that of manufacturers. 4. It is a mistake to aim at making all nations produce the same articles. It is also wise to encourage competition with foreign nations, because it stimulates your own production. 5. Manufactures should be protected, the price of which is 10 per cent. above contraband prices. 6. The interest of the consumer should be preferred to that of the manufacturer and the merchant. We see in these abstract principles the influence of that physiocratic school, then powerful in France, which regarded the produce of the soil as the only source of wealth. The French Government had so strong a belief in these dogmas, that they were ready to make considerable sacrifices for their maintenance. The French paper proceeds to apply these principles to practice. France has a large superfluity of products, and therefore it is the interest of France to send their products in exchange for English products. France would send to England her wines, brandies, vinegars, and salt, the produce of the soil which England cannot rival, while England would supply in return cloth, linen, silk, and fashions. The supply of English manufactures would stimulate competition in France, and an over-supply of any commodity could easily be transferred from France to Spain. What reduction of duties, then, is France to ask for? French wines now pay 99*l.* a tun duty, those of Portugal 46*l.*, those of Spain, Germany, and Hungary 50*l.* The legitimate importation of Bordeaux wine is from 400 to 500 tuns; the amount smuggled by Jersey and Boulogne about 400 tuns. This does not include either Burgundies or champagnes. Ireland consumes 1,500 to 2,000 tuns. Formerly 8,000 tuns a year was a moderate importation into England. The Methuen treaty is not strictly observed. By it French wines need only pay a third more than Portuguese wines, whereas in fact

they pay double. French brandies and vinegars were at a similar disadvantage as compared with Portuguese. At present 400 tuns of wine at 100*l.* a tun duty produced only 40,000*l.* revenue, whereas 8,000 tuns at 50*l.* would produce 400,000*l.* revenue. If the Methuen treaty were strictly observed, French wines should be admitted to England at 67*l.* a tun. If this were done, French cloths and cambrics should also be admitted free. Brandies and vinegars were not mentioned in the Methuen treaty, and therefore the duties upon them might be subject to any reduction the English Government might wish.

The paper proceeded to argue that no great danger was to be apprehended from the competition of English cottons and woollens. Fine English woollen cloths, it maintained, are not superior to French, but are cheaper; the best showed a difference of 14 or 15 per cent. This is not from the cheaper price of labour, which is dearer in England, nor from the price of wool, because France and England both import wool from Spain. It comes from the taxes which are laid upon wool in France, and the monopoly of its production. Both these causes could be removed by legislation. The competition of England would stimulate the French manufacturers to greater exertions. More difficulty would be found from the competition of lower priced woollens. The English cottons are 20 per cent. cheaper than the French, which is the result of English machinery. The memoir then concludes with the following propositions: 1. France has an interest in procuring facilities for the importation into England of its wines, vinegars, and brandies, and should make sacrifices to obtain it. 2. The principal offer it can make in return is the admission of English hardware. 3. We also require admission for artificial flowers, perfumery, fashions, plate glass, and soap, and for these we may admit English cottons in exchange. 4. We may admit English woollens in exchange for our own woollens or other articles. 5. France should ask for its wines to be on the same footing with those of Portugal. If a larger duty is

imposed upon them, it should be less than the third provided for by the Methuen treaty. These principles are subject to modification, but a system of prohibition is essentially vicious and vexatious. At any rate, France will have the satisfaction of offering an example of enlightenment and magnanimity which England will do well to imitate. This paper was drawn up in evident ignorance of Pitt's personal willingness to waive the Methuen treaty.

As the project of treaty agreed upon by Eden and Rayneval had now been criticised on both sides, and had not proved satisfactory, it was determined to proceed by a different method. On June 3 Eden presented a declaration from the King of England, whereas the counter-declaration of the King of France was dated June 16. The declaration consisted of four articles: 1. That the navigation and commerce of the two countries shall be placed upon the footing of the most favoured nation, except where special privileges have been granted to a particular power. 2. Besides this general principle, arrangements are at once to be made for establishing specific duties. 3. Each party has the right of reviewing the arrangement after ten years. 4. All the stipulations of the Treaty of Utrecht not annulled by the present treaty are to continue in full force. The counter-declaration also consisted of four articles, which are nearly identical with those of the English declaration. They do not insist on the abrogation of the Methuen treaty, a point which was not obtained without great difficulty. The chief difference lies in the tone of the preamble, France rather emphasising the abolition of all duties, England the placing of France on an equality with other nations.

After this step had been taken there was a long pause. Eden had to go regularly to Versailles, and to announce in answer to inquiries that he was still without instructions from his court. In the meantime the terms to be conceded by England were in the hands of Jenkinson, afterwards successively created Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Liverpool. He was determined, as Lord Carmarthen said, to see how far the French were in

earnest. He lacked the broad and generous ideas of Pitt, and confined himself to driving the best bargain for the country. The result of his calculations is contained in a despatch from Carmarthen to Eden dated July 18, 1786. The Methuen treaty is to be continued, but the duty on French wines is to be reduced from 96*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* a tun to 61*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, that is just one-third more than is paid by the wines of Portugal. Brandies and vinegars were to be placed on the footing of the most favoured nation, and their superior quality would give them an advantage. In return for this it is hoped that France will admit the hardware, the woollen and worsted of England on moderate terms. French linens are reduced to the level of those of Holland and Flanders, and cambrics and lawns are to be admitted on a duty of 12 or 15 per cent. In return for this England expects a reciprocity in the matter of cottons. Silks, for which Rayneval had earnestly pleaded, are to be absolutely prohibited. George Rose and the more cautious financiers of the day were afraid of a rising of the Spitalfields weavers. Amicable arrangements are to be made with reference to plate glass, porcelain, and fashions. It will be seen that these terms were harder than Pitt was at first inclined to offer. French wines, brandies, and vinegars were not placed on the footing which they occupied at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and French silks were altogether excluded.

Eden wrote to Pitt that his heart sunk within him when he read these instructions; it was not till the third reading that he began to pluck up courage. Rayneval's reply to these new instructions was dated on August 10. He said that as England was not inclined to admit the principle of free trade, France would proceed on the basis of reciprocity; at the same time it was most essential that the Methuen treaty should be to some extent modified. The duties proposed on wine, brandy and vinegar were too large: 61*l.* a tun would act as a prohibition to anything like national consumption. Before the treaty with Portugal the duties were only 10*l.* a tun for both countries. France was ready



to accept the proposals about hardware, and would admit these goods on a reciprocal duty of 10 per cent. As England absolutely refused French silks, they would not insist upon that point, but would arrange for the reciprocal admission of gauzes and silk lace. The necessity for reducing the duty on wines, brandies, and vinegars was again enforced by Rayneval three days later. Vergennes urged that French wines should be admitted on the same footing as those of Portugal. Rayneval suggested in the same letter that silks might be allowed to enter on either side at a duty of 12 per cent. These efforts were unavailing. The Spitalfields weavers refused in the most peremptory way to admit French silks even in the form of ribbons. Jenkinson, created Lord Hawkesbury on August 21, persuaded his colleagues to maintain the differential duties of the Methuen treaty. The other difficulties, however, were gradually smoothed away, and on September 26 the treaty was signed at Versailles.

The treaty consists of forty-seven articles. A very short account of its principal features will suffice. The first article provides that there shall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the subjects of the two countries, as is agreed upon in the following articles. The second article allows a year's notice to the subjects of either crown for removing their persons or their effects in case of the breaking out of war, a provision which was not respected by Napoleon at the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. The sixth article is concerned with the new tariff which is drawn up on the lines which have already been described. These duties are not to be altered but by mutual consent. Both sovereigns reserve the right of countervailing, by additional duties, the internal duties actually imposed on the manufactures, or the export duties which are charged on the raw materials of certain specified articles. Some of the later articles are concerned with the more general questions of international law: article 22 carefully defines contraband; articles 24 to 28 regulate the manner in which the visitation of ships is to be conducted in time of war; article 29 provides that

the flag does not cover the merchandise, and that the property found on the enemy's ships is fair prize unless it have been embarked before the declaration of war. Other articles refer to the adjudication of prizes, and by article 46 the duration of the treaty is limited to twelve years.

The outbreak of the French Revolution so shortly afterwards makes it difficult to calculate the exact effect of the treaty. There is little doubt that it proved to be more favourable to France than to ourselves. The taste of the English in wine was not materially changed, as it has been by the commercial treaty of our own day; whereas English hardware and linen found an immediate sale in France; at the same time the Portuguese did not like the treaty, and were afraid of its result. Lord Sheffield, a political economist of some repute, and the friend and host of Gibbon, writes a criticism of the treaty to Eden on October 4, which seems to be well founded. He says that it is extravagant to pronounce an opinion on forty-seven articles, a very small part of which is known to him, but that as far as he can judge from what he knows the reciprocity is all on one side, and he cannot discover a single advantage the French have gained. He thinks that the French have been for once at least taken in, and have exhibited themselves very ignorant and foolish. The French, he believes, will gain nothing by the importation of cambrics; the reduction of the duty on brandy is not enough to prevent smuggling; and the failure to procure the admission of French silk is attributed to the ignorance and folly of the people, and the timidity of the ministers. An anonymous Glasgow manufacturer, quoted in 'Lord Auckland's Life' (vol. i. p. 516), accused the French of infatuation in admitting the four great English staples, woollen, iron, pottery, and cotton; and he does not believe that French brandies, wines, cambrics, and millinery will find the market which is expected for them. On the other hand, the hopes of the French negotiators are expressed in a higher tone. Rayneval writes to Barthélemy on the conclusion of the treaty, 'The balance which will result from the treaty is uncertain; experience

alone will show to which side it leans ; but whatever may happen, we shall at least have acquired the unappreciable advantage of insensibly diminishing the natural hatred which has hitherto separated France and England, of instituting a legitimate for a fraudulent commerce, and of turning the profits of contraband to the advantage of the State. These considerations are more important than the indiscreet clamours which the fraudulent are certain to permit themselves, both in France and England.'

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The authorities from which this paper has been drawn are : Ségur-Dupeyron, '*Histoire des Négociations commerciales et maritimes*,' vol. iii. ; '*The Life and Letters of Lord Auckland* ;' and manuscript papers in the Record Office, and in my possession. The original draft of the Treaty was exhibited when the paper was read.—O. B.

## PERPLEXITIES OF ORIENTAL HISTORY.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR F. J. GOLDSMID, C.B., K.C.S.I.

(Read February 15, 1885.)

BY way of introduction to a sketch of Persian history prepared for the new volume of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' I recently wrote as follows :—

Oriental history, as told by Oriental historians, is for the majority of readers in Europe a study of little attraction. Its genealogies and oft-repeated names are wearisome ; its stories of battle, murder, and rapine are monotonous and cast in one mould ; the mind cannot readily impart life to the dry bones of the more prominent *dramatis personæ* by conceiving for them any flesh-and-blood individuality. The court-chronicler of an Eastern potentate writes to order, and in accordance with a precedent which fetters style and expression ; and even the painter of state-portraits strives rather to turn out a conventional and model monarch than the likeness of an original human being. In the palace of Kirich, near Tehran, is a picture of Fath Ali Shâh and his sons. There may be a certain waxwork beauty in some of the faces, but they give no more signs of innate character or mental idiosyncrasy that do the kings and knaves of a pack of cards.

The view expressed may be startling to many general readers, and may shock certain Oriental scholars ; but I venture to think it is warranted by experience and will not be without its adherents. In any case the question mooted has been thought of sufficient interest for exposition before the Historical Society, and in furtherance of this object I am about to submit a few notes illustrative of my meaning, and, moreover, suggestive of remedy, should existing evil be admitted.

I will take the period to which I more particularly referred in the preliminary remarks just quoted. It is that

from which I commenced a mere suggestive outline of modern Persia—the stirring era of Tamerlane and his successors. To the writer of history it seemed to me that the two great difficulties to be surmounted were to produce to the mind a living representation of the hero of the hour, and to connect from the conflicting accounts of chroniclers and commentators a trustworthy narrative as regards dates, occurrences, and all essential details. A third requirement must not be omitted : it is one the fulfilment of which is hardly so imperative on the contributor to an encyclopædia, or the compiler for prosaic accuracy and usefulness, as on the professed historian ; I mean the production of a history not simply lucid and readable, but interesting and attractive also. Your indulgence is now asked for a review of the whole proposition under the three heads mentioned.

In the first place, as to Timur's individuality. What more fitting subject could be found than this for testing the reading and reflective powers of a candidate for the Indian Civil Service ? Can he distinguish Timur, as a living man, in mind and physique, in action and repose, from other Oriental conquerors, such, for instance, as Jenghiz, Nadir, Mahmúd of Ghazni ? Materials are not wanting, although they are perplexing, on which to form some kind of conclusion. To collate his data would suffice for the competing candidate, who has to satisfy, not to instruct his examiner. This is not enough for the historian, who cannot satisfy, unless he instruct his reader.

Personally, in the flesh, what was Timur like ? Can we conceive, in our minds, a living chief such as this distinguished Tartar ; or have we no basis but our own vague ideas on which to shape a figure ? Supposed likenesses are not wanting. They are to be found in books and in the splendid collection of Oriental manuscripts and drawings in the British Museum ; but we cannot pin faith on these, nor could we, if we did, understand how such a man as here depicted was ever distinguished at all. Two professed portraits I have closely scrutinised. One, contained in the

'Shah Jahán Náma'—a gorgeous specimen of illuminated Persian manuscript and exquisite calligraphy—represents a most ordinary, middle-aged Oriental, with narrow black whisker fringing the cheek and meeting the chin's tip in a scanty, pointed beard; a thin moustache sweeps in a semi-circle from above the upper lip; the eyebrow over the almond-shaped eye is marked, but not bushy. It were vain to seek for an expression of genius in the countenance, or aught indicative of what the Americans call a 'remarkable man.' Nothing of the kind is there. If the face possess any character it is that of some pettifogging and quite insignificant mortal. The other portrait is included in a highly interesting set of finished and unfinished sketches by native artists, some of which, taken probably from life, show great care and cleverness. Timur is here displayed as a stoutish, long-bodied man, below the middle height; in age and feature not unlike—but with thicker and more straggling hair than in—the first portrait. We notice a distincter, though not a more agreeable, character in the facial expression; but not a sign of the existence of power, genius, or any elements of grandeur or celebrity. *Au reste*, the uncomfortable figure in the Bodleian Library does not help us.

Briefly, there is little to be ascertained, from the limner's art, of the personality of the conqueror. He is a native of the higher classes—perhaps an Indo-Mughal—his dress and complexion bear testimony so far; but he is painfully insipid—neither tyrant nor benefactor. On the other hand, there is really nothing to justify belief in the resemblance of the portraits to the presumed original; and, as already observed, judging from the artistic specimens available, it is just as well that such impression is conveyed to the minds of those to whom the illustrious Timur has been a-hero of romance. Failing, then, to get a reliable relic of the artist's skill, or any semblance from which to materialise a man of mark, we must have recourse to books—in the first instance to native chroniclers and annalists; and, secondly, to European writers on Oriental subjects. But Macaulay and other

popular historians would have lost much in interest and attraction had there been no statues or picture galleries from which to derive the means of imparting a finishing touch to their respective character-delineations.

As regards Tamerlane—strictly Tamur Bey or Tamur Lang<sup>1</sup>—Sir William Jones has very fairly summed up the case, and his summary has been quoted by Maurice in his 'Modern History of Hindustan' (a work almost obsolete, yet well worthy of reference at the present day), and by Malcolm in his 'History of Persia.' He tells us of the two histories of Sharifu'd-din and Ahmad bin Arabshah, the first in Persian, the second in Arabic. In the former he says, 'the Tartarian conqueror is represented as a liberal, benevolent, and illustrious prince;' in the latter he is 'deformed and impious, of a low birth and detestable principles.' The learned writer explains the cause of the discrepancy to be, that the favourable account was written under Timur's personal supervision, while the unfavourable account was the production of his direst enemy; and thus far we may thank him, and those who quote him, for a clear and painstaking exposition. But when Maurice, accepting these premisses, admits an endeavour to reconcile the two narratives by giving the substance of each on what he calls 'the leading traits of the character' of his hero, I venture to think he has run the risk of producing a distortion, if not a positive monstrosity. He first gathers together sweeping evidence against the accuracy of the local record, and then discloses the kind of guesswork resorted to by European writers to compensate for want of sure information. Few indeed, if any, original annals of this class are written otherwise than to order, under patronage, or to serve a purpose to which truth is secondary. The 'Life of Timur' is no exception to the rule, and unless the respective proportions of exaggeration and misrepresentation on either side could be mathematically obtained and understood,

<sup>1</sup> The derivation of the word from the Arabic 'Tamuru,' in the 67th chapter of the Kuran, meaning 'it shall shake,' appears too fanciful for ready acceptance. That it is the Turki form of 'demir'—iron—is a more likely theory.



it were but lost labour to seek for it a medium on which to depend. There is no possible average to be struck with certainty. Experience, perhaps, teaches us more of the absolute hollowness and insincerity of adulation than of the perversion and falsehood of slander in Oriental courts; but we know so much of the danger of both to the impartial writer of history, that we readily believe selection from the two to be as difficult for him as the passage between Scylla and Charybdis was to the navigator of old.

Clements Markham's version of Clavijo's narrative of his embassy to the court of Timur at Samarkand, gives valuable independent evidence on the manners and customs of the place and period, and is thus in its way a useful contribution to Oriental history; but it fails to convey a notion of Timur's personality. The ambassadors saw him some five months before his decease, and we know that the old warrior received them 'seated cross-legged on silken embroidered carpets, amongst round pillows'; moreover, that 'he was dressed in a robe of silk, with a high white hat on his head, on the top of which there was a ruby, with pearls and precious stones.'<sup>1</sup> We learn that he was eminent at the festive-board as on the battle-field, and had no scruples about alcoholic drinks; but we have no description of his person except in the incidental mention that his eyesight was bad, for he was 'so old that the eyelids had fallen down entirely.'

Sir John Malcolm, in tracing the person and character of Timur from the writings of native historians, has been at some pains to invest his portrait with individuality. But an analysis of his results leaves the conscientious reader in more perplexity than satisfaction at the kind of information imparted, and he reverts insensibly to the sources from which his instructor has himself been instructed. Speaking of the outer man, the historian tells us 'he was of a good stature, had a fair complexion, an open countenance, and a strong

<sup>1</sup> Markham's *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timur of Samarkand*, A.D. 1403-6. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1859.

shrill voice. He was much maimed, and lame on the right side.<sup>1</sup> That the fairness of the complexion is corroborated in the coloured drawings to which allusion has already been made, is unimportant, and that is about all in which the pen and pencil correspond. With respect to the realisation of an abstract portraiture—openness of countenance and shrillness of voice are, separately, too vague, and, jointly, too unmeaning, to be of any use whatever. Then there is a footnote, with quotations from 'Purchas's Pilgrims'; but it will be better to have recourse to the quaint pages of that assiduous compiler himself, who, after relating of Timur that his army 'contained 1,200,000,' and that his 'conquests exceed (if histories exceed not) all the great Alexanders, Pompeys, Cæsars, or any other worthies of the world,' writes the following:—

Of him are many histories written by some that have lived since his time, and could not well know his proceedings, it being generally deplored that this Achilles wanted a Homer, which Alexander applauded in him, but wanted for himselfe, only one Alhaçen (an Arabian which then lived), hath written largely thereof, and that (as he saith), by Tamerlan's command, which Jean du Bec, Abbot of Mortimer, in his voyage into the East Countrie, met with, and had it interpreted to him by an Arabian, and we upon his credit: which if any thinke to bee insufficient, I leave it to his choise and censure. That Authour saith, that Tamerlan descended of the Tartarian Emperours, and Og his father was Lord of Sachetay, who gave to his sonne Tamerlan (which name signifieth *Heavenly grace* in their tongue), his kingdome, while hee yet lived, appointing too wise counsellors, Odmar, and Aly, to assist him. Hee was well instructed in the Arabian learning, and a lover of learned men. Nature had set in his eyes such rayes of maiestie and beautie, that men could scarce endure to looke on them. He wore long haire, contrary to the Tartarian custome, pretending that his mother came of the race of Sampson. He was strong, and had a fair legge. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Samuel Purchas, described in the title-page of his notable 'Relations' as 'Parson of St. Martin's-by-Ludgate,' was, I need hardly say, one of the most instructive compilers of

<sup>1</sup> *History of Persia*, vol. i. (Murray, 1815).

<sup>2</sup> *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, the Fourth Booke, chap. xv. (London, 1617).

data for students of geography and history that ever lived in this great city of London. Not only does he frequently unearth, in the course of his labours, matter for speculation and reasoning, like the skull of Yorick, but he puts into the hands of inquiring readers the guiding thread to many objects of interesting research. His spelling and the artlessness with which he names impossible referees—for instance, 'Tarik Mirkond, a Persian,' properly interpreted 'Mirkhond, writer of a Persian *Tárikh* or history—shows that he was no Oriental scholar; but his industry and usefulness are unimpeachable. To the single-volume edition of the 'Pilgrims,' printed in 1617, is prefixed a long list of more than one thousand names of authorities cited. From these, to elucidate the life of Tamerlane alone, we may select one or even two score. Among them are Laonicus Chalchondylas of the fifteenth century, author of a history of the last years of the Byzantine Empire, and himself an eye-witness of the siege of Constantinople by Mahmud; Joannes Leunclavius, who wrote the Latin annals of the Ottoman Sultans up to the second half of the sixteenth century, and in whose name the Catalogues of the British Museum contain some fifty-seven entries; Joachimus Camerarius, the learned writer 'De rebus Turcicis' at the close of the sixteenth century, and his son Philip; Petrus Perondinus, whose brief biography of Tamerlane, printed in 1600, may be perused and understood by a schoolboy familiar with Livy, in a short day's sitting in the round room of Great Russell Street; Lazaro Soranzo, whose book on the Ottomans was translated into English by Abraham Hartwell in 1603:<sup>1</sup> but it would be out of place here to continue the selection. Suffice it to say that many more narrators of Timur's exploits might be readily found noted in the margins of Purchas's pages; and besides these there are several, such as Simon Maiolus and Matthew Michovius, who more or less help the student with indirect testimony.

<sup>1</sup> A small, but very interesting volume. Timur is, however, only mentioned incidentally as 'the Great Tamur Chan, that is to say, an Iron Lorde, who is otherwise by some corruptly called *Tamerlan* and *Tamburlan*.'

To turn to due account the passage above extracted from Purchas, the main requirement is the identification of *Alhacen* the Arabian historian, who, as he is said to have written 'by Tamerlan's command,' is clearly not the hostile Ahmad bin Arabshah. Bare presumptive evidence, on *primâ facie* reasoning, led me for a moment to suppose him to be Abú Tálibu'l-Husaini, translator of the 'Malfuzât' or Memoirs, of which complete or imperfect copies are forthcoming in the rich Manuscript Department of the British Museum. But, independently of discordance between the text of the Memoirs and that of this mysterious history, the date of discovery of the Malfuzât and its presentation to Shah Jahán in A.Hij. 1047, or A.D. 1637, is of itself a sufficient reason to reject the supposition. Purchas wrote of *Alhacen* before A.D. 1617, and there is available to students of Oriental chronicles a 'Historie of the Great Emperor Tamerlan drawn from the ancient monuments by Messire Jean du Bec, Abbot of Mortimer,' printed for William Ponsonby in 1597. Who, then, is *Alhacen*? A high authority whom I have consulted on the subject, and to whom I referred the 'histoire du Grand Tamerlan par le Sieur de Saintcyon,'<sup>1</sup> published at Amsterdam in 1678, and avowedly a version of *Alhasent*, the 'truest narrative of Timur,' considers that the history and historian are equally fictitious, and adduces pertinent arguments in support of his views. Further than this: he has been condemned by the affix 'pseudo' in many entries in the Catalogues of the British Museum. For my own part, I am in hopes yet to pursue the investigation further, and therefore reserve any more decided expression of opinion. But there is no doubt that this *Alhacen* of Jean du Bec has been seriously received as a reliable chronicler not only in the sixteenth and seventeenth, but in the nineteenth century also. And I may venture to cite the question that his identity has raised as one of the perplexities of Oriental history.

<sup>1</sup> This writer complains of the way in which 'Ahmad, son of Gueraspe,' had treated the subject previously.

Again, the 'Malfuzát,' or Memoirs themselves, of Timur are not free from suspicion of unreality. Mr. Rieu has carefully analysed this work in the first volume of his 'Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in the British Museum,' and thus summarises the writer's own account of it :—

He had found in the Holy Places (Mecca and Medina), in the library of J'áfar, ruler of Yaman, a Turki book, in which Amir Timur Gurgáni had recorded the events of his life from his seventh to his seventieth year (or, as added above the line, his seventy-fourth year), with sundry rules and ordinances relating to kingcraft and strategy, and that he had made this translation of it to serve as a guide to kings.

But the keeper and expounder of Oriental MSS. adds the following paragraph :—

The authenticity of these Memoirs is open to serious objections. The suspicious vagueness of the account of the alleged discovery, the fact that the supposed original has never been produced, nor its existence been confirmed by any testimony, above all, the absence of a writer who, like Sharafu'd-din Yazdi, enjoyed the full confidence of Timur's children, and had, through them, access to all the genuine records of his reign, as to a document of such paramount importance, are so many reasons which tend to render that authenticity extremely doubtful. Shahjahán appears to have been so little satisfied of it that he had the memoirs altered, as will be seen in the preface of the next MS., so as to make them agree with the Zafar-Namah, a work written thirty years after Timur's death.

Such is by no means a solitary opinion of the 'Malfuzát,' or so-called autobiographical Memoirs; and with these may be included the 'Tezukát,' or Institutes, with the divisions known as Designs and Enterprises, and the Omens, though they have appeared at different periods in an English dress. Yet are there many strong Persian scholars arrayed on the other side; notably Major Stewart, the able translator of the more strictly historical manuscript, and Major Davy, to whom the English public are indebted for the Institutes. So recently as 1874, Mr. Clements Markham, in one of the footnotes to his History of Persia, states his belief that there

is no doubt as to the authenticity of Timur's Memoirs. It has been already shown that Maurice avows himself to have been guided by them to correct the sycophantic favouritism of Sharifu'd-din, and the rabid malevolence of Ahmad-bin-Arabshah. In any case, here is another and very important illustration of the perplexities of Oriental history.

The fact is, that when a spurious authority has once been accepted by a writer of respectability, the result may be an unlimited propagation of error. In a larger and, by eighteen years, later edition than that from which we have quoted, Purchas has stated the case very frankly in reference to his own acceptance of the romantic narrative translated by Jean du Bec. He writes:—

'Al Hacen, a learned Mahometan, was the authour; whether an exact historian, everywhere literally to be understood, or whether in some parts he be parabolical, and presents a Tamerlane like Xenophon's Cyrus . . . I undertake not to determine. The Abbot of Mortimer takes it for a just storie, and so doth Master Knolls in his Turkish Historie.'

There is yet another source from which we may draw some practical knowledge of the individuality of Oriental as well as other heroes of history, but it is a doubtful one, and must be made available only under careful conditions. I refer to dramatic representation. Historical personages and events frequently appear before us in England on the boards of a theatre, invested with a traditional character. English monarchs, from Alfred to modern times, have, with rare exceptions, been more or less subjected to the handling of dramatists and stage performers. Shakespeare's King John, with his Henrys and Richards, have greatly aided popular acquaintance with certain periods of history; and Shakespeare's contemporaries and successors in dramatic writing have found like inspiration in historical themes, though unblest with the marvellous power of development given to one man only. The first Charles has been fairly put before the present generation in a tragic play produced within the last

few years ; if we except certain scenes and passages which belong to the drama rather than to history. Charles II. has for the last generation been the favourite hero of the lighter form of drama. In France and continental Europe the same custom prevails. Charles VI., Louis XI., Francis I., and Louis XIII. are four out of many names which immediately occur to me as of royal figures constantly seen before the Parisian footlights ; and whether it be a Philip of Spain, a Gustavus of Sweden, or a Borgia of Italy, examples may be found, as plentiful as blackberries, in surrounding countries also. It goes without saying—as our brothers across the Channel express it—that we make as free with foreign potentates as with our own ; and, *vice versâ*, our own potentates are found all over the continental *répertoires*.

Upon the whole, it cannot be said that the cause of historical truth has been steadily aided by dramatic representation. Far from it. Facts are perverted, and characters modified, to suit the taste of particular audiences. The death-roll in Hamlet is too heavy for French critics ; so Alexandre Dumas makes his Hamlet live, while the Ghost's delivery of the abrupt sentence to this effect is the signal for the fall of the curtain. In Cooper's romance of 'The Pilot,' the American characters are those which command the reader's sympathy ; in the play as represented before a British audience, these are all converted into Englishmen. And so on in hundreds, or thousands of instances. Kings and queens, princes and heroes, all have to undergo the fashioning necessary to adapt them to the tastes of paying playgoers. The vice and virtue of the individual is heightened or toned down, or even transferred from one breast to another—to chime in with the dramatist's purpose, or to produce certain telling situations and effects. If the Realism of the present day were applied to historical personages and events, the stage might become indeed a great instructor of youth ; and we should see our forefathers 'in their habits as they lived,' instead of puppets dressed up in the disguises of a theatrical wardrobe.

Such being the case in the treatment of European



subjects, what must it be when Western civilisation takes as its theme a phase of Oriental life—a passage from Eastern annals in which, a few Greeks excepted, the moving figures are all Persians or Uzbeks, Turks or Tartars? Old volumes of plays are at hand to supply evidence which is both pertinent to the occasion and abundant. Firstly, there is Marlowe's 'Tamburlaine' of the Elizabethan era, in which Bajazet and 'the Turkess,' his wife, brain themselves against the bars of the traditional iron cage, to the edification of the spectators. This tragic play is in two parts, each part having its conventional five acts. It was acted probably as far back as 1586, and is remarkable as the first experiment of dramatic composition in blank verse on the boards of an English theatre. The author's undisputed genius is apparent throughout; and the many fine stirring lines and martial character of Part I. recommend it greatly to public favour. But the lack of dramatic interest and incident in the whole story somewhat qualify our modern sympathy with the signal success which, according to the Prologue found in the modern edition, occasioned the production of a Second Part. The hero is thus introduced to the King, Mycetes, by a Persian lord named Meander:—

Oft have I heard your Majesty complain  
Of Tamburlaine, that sturdy Scythian thief,  
That robs your merchant of Persepolis  
Trading by land unto the Western isles;  
And in your confines with his lawless train  
Daily commits incivil outrages,  
Hoping (misled by dreaming prophecies)  
To reign in Asia, and with barbarous army  
To make himself the monarch of the East.

Later on, the ambitious Tartar himself uses these words:—

Is it not brave to be a king, Techelles,  
Usumcasané and Theridamas?  
Is it not passing brave to be a king,  
And ride in triumph through Persepolis?

Barring a slight anachronism, the second chief named is

probably intended for Uzún Hasan, the 'long' Túrkmán king of Persia; only Marlowe disturbs our reasoning faculties by making him, in Part II., the 'King of Morocco!'

Timur is here described, by one Menaphon, as tall of stature, straightly fashioned, large of limb, having joints strongly knit, long and sinewy arms, and a breadth of shoulders to 'bear old Atlas's burden,' pale of complexion and with 'amber hair wrapp'd in curls.' Where Marlowe obtained his information I cannot pretend to say; the outline of this description might be from Sharifu'd-dín, while the colours are the poet's own; but something in it recalls another and less hackneyed source. Incidental mention has been made of a Latin memoir of Tamerlane by Perondinus, printed in the year 1600. This curious record, entitled '*Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita; conscripta a Petro Perondino Pratense,*' describes Timur as tall and bearded, broad-chested and broad-shouldered, well-built but lame, of a fierce countenance, and with receding eyes which express cruelty and strike terror into the lookers-on.<sup>1</sup> If the two do not correspond, there are certainly some points of resemblance and no startling discrepancies. But if we go back to Purchas and those writers who have believed in the Arabian Elhaçin, we shall find the most singular instances of disagreement. The tallness of stature and breadth of shoulder become '*une taille médiocre avec les épaules étroites,*' while the cruel eyes and fierce countenance are transformed into beautiful and well-proportioned features, with eyes so full of sweetness and majesty that the sight of them could scarcely be endured. The translator of Jean du Bec says, 'they which talked with him became dumb, inasmuch as he abstained with a certain modesty and comeliness to look upon them.' So far from being 'bearded like a pard,' the same writer asserts that 'he had but little haire on his chin;' and so on.

<sup>1</sup> *Statura procera, barbatus; latis humeris et pectore, cæterisque membris æqualis et congruens; integrâ valetudine, excepto altero pede, quo non perinde valebat, ut inde claudicare ac deformiter incedere perspiceretur; oris truculenti . . . oculi introrsus recedentes, præferocis animi sui sævitiam spirantes, intuentibus terrorem et formidinem incutiebant.*

But a fresh perplexity arises. Marlowe wrote *Tamburlaine* in 1586. The first English translation of the Abbot of Mortimer's work is dated in 1595; the *Memoir* of Perondinus in 1600, and Petis de la Croix did not introduce Sharifu'd-din or Ali Yazdi, the author of the *Zafr Námah*, to European readers till the year 1722. The dramatist must have heard of Timur in other quarters, equally reliable, it may be, with those available in the present advanced stage of Oriental research. We need not make any special reference to Zenocrate, the loving wife,<sup>1</sup> nor to Calyphas, Amyras, and Celebinus, the three sons of '*Tamburlaine*' (on the authority of the old English playwright), but we may remark that their nomenclature is to all appearance as fanciful as are the respective parts assigned to them before the foot-lights.

Marlowe's production was not destined to have a long success, or to be long remembered by the theatre-going public. When Timur, at the beginning of the past century, again appeared upon the British stage, it was in a very different guise from the first. On this occasion he was a model of valour and virtue. The tragedy bearing his corrected name (for he was no longer '*Tamburlaine*' but '*Tamerlane*'), written by a dramatist of considerable celebrity, Nicholas Rowe, author of '*Jane Shore*' and '*the Fair Penitent*,' a poet laureate and buried in Westminster Abbey—showed him in strong contrast to his vanquished opponent Báiazid or Bajazet who was depicted as a traitor and villain of the deepest dye. The plot, however, beyond the fact of the Turkish Sultan's imprisonment, has little to do with history, and is improbable and void of interest. One of the principal figures, Axila, is evidently taken from an English or French version of the not-to-be-trusted *Alhacin*. Rowe's estimate of Timur's character may be judged by the following lines put into the mouths of his *dramatis personæ* :—

<sup>1</sup> Her love for *Tamburlaine* is the real poetry of the First Part, as her death and *Tamburlaine's* consequent despair are the mainstay of Part II. She is the daughter of the Soldan of Egypt!

*Prince of Tanais.* No lust of rule, the common vice of kings ;  
 No furious zeal, inspir'd by hot-brain'd priests,  
 Ill hid beneath religion's spurious name,  
 E'er drew his temperate courage to the field ;  
 But to redress an injur'd people's wrongs,  
 To save the weak ones from the strong oppressor,  
 Is all his end of war. And when he draws  
 The sword to punish, like relenting Heaven,  
 He seems unwilling to deface his kind.

*Mirván.* So rich his soul in ev'ry virtuous grace,  
 That had not Nature made him great by birth,  
 Yet all the brave had sought him for their friend.

A more modern author—one indeed of the early part of the present century—Matthew Gregory Lewis, better known as 'Monk Lewis,' though little recommended to the rising generation by any of his writings—brings the great Tartar before the public more in accordance with Marlowe's portraiture. No longer Tamburlaine, nor even Tamerlane, but 'Timour,' he is now the conventional tyrant of a gorgeous melodrama ; slaying, burning, slaughtering, and committing every possible atrocity until checked by violent death and a poetical climax. Nothing could be more unlike the high-souled, exemplary hero of Rowe's tragedy than this gasconading figure ; successful for a time, as many a nine days' wonder, but eventually consigned to Astley's Amphitheatre, a locality to which it was admirably suited, and where it derived *éclat* from a background of equestrian display.

I will not weary your patience by dwelling upon the treatment of the same subject by foreign authors ; nor in showing, as I might easily do, that it has been welcomed by the musical composer as well as the dramatic writer. On the English stage you will observe that the theme has been a prominent one in the sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. I might have included the seventeenth also, for another tragedy bearing the name of Tamerlane by a Mr. Charles Saunders<sup>1</sup> was printed in 1681, with a prologue by

<sup>1</sup> Designated in Dyce's Preface to his edition of Marlowe, published in 1850, 'a precocious young gentleman.'

Dryden. It had previously been acted, but does not appear to have survived.

One practical result, of some value to the student of history, may be obtained from attention to the dramatic literature of a country. Each newly-produced play presumably illustrates the degree of knowledge attained on the particular subject it handles, at the period of its production.

Of the three heads of discussion laid down for the question before us, I have given more time to the first than had been my original intention. But a great deal has been already said which will apply to the general argument, and need not therefore be repeated now that we are about briefly to consider the second proposition. If it is difficult to produce to the mind the person of a living Timur, how much harder must it be to describe his contemporaries and successors; that is, the leading figures which belong to his biography, or take up the consequences of his career each according to its own fractional or minute share of responsibility. And, apart from individuals, how are we to connect, from the conflicting accounts of chroniclers and others, a trustworthy and complete narrative of historical events?

Major Stewart thus opens his Preface to the translated *Malfuzát* published in 1830: 'The fame of Timur, erroneously called Tamerlane, although long known to some persons in Europe, was more generally communicated to the public in the year 1722, by the labours of the indefatigable Orientalist, Petis de la Croix, who translated from the Persian language the history of that monarch, denominated "Zuffer Nameh," or "Book of Victory," by Sherif Addyn (*sic*) Aly of Yezd.' Hereupon the question naturally arises in the reader's mind as to the 'some persons' who had known of these things before 1722. Who are they, and how had they managed to become so well-informed on the contents of a comparatively sealed volume?

Golius, the learned Dutch Orientalist, who wrote, for the most part, in the first half of the seventeenth century, had translated, in 1636, into Latin, the Arabic history of Ibn

Arabshah, otherwise Ahmad ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah (Shahábu'd-dín), Al Dimashki, Al 'Ajmi. I give the name as catalogued in order that he may not be confounded with any spurious writer. It is not improbable that this unfavourable account was the first authentic record of Timur published in England, directly translated into a European language from the original Arabic, Persian, or Turki, although the brief Latin memoir of Perondinus may have a certain claim to consideration. It has been before referred to as the production of an enemy. Marlowe wrote his 'Tamburlaine' before Golius was born, but may have had some foreknowledge of the existence of the original work which that eminent scholar translated. I cannot find that the 'Zafarnáma' of Nizám Shámi—otherwise Mauláná Nizámu'd-dín Shanab Gházáni, 'the earliest authentic history of Timur, written by his order A.D. 1404,' and the 'only one written in his lifetime'<sup>1</sup>—was then known in England or in Europe, nor the more commonly cited 'Zafarnáma' of Ali Yazdí, alias Sharifu'd-dín. As for the 'Matla'us-Sa'dain'—another choice Persian manuscript work, the first volume of which is chiefly devoted to Timur—it is probable that this history was unheard of till introduced to Orientalists in Europe, at a comparatively recent date, by Hammer, Jahrbücher, Dorn, and Quatremère.

More books need not be cited. I wish simply to show how imperfectly and, piece by piece—one correcting or contradicting the other—the story of the man and period has been communicated to us. On the death of Timur there is geographical as well as historical confusion. A vast empire is cut up into innumerable sections, and it is not easy to discover who is the ruling potentate in each. Similar situations are constantly reproduced in the Eastern annals, so that if we select the period of the Timurides it is by no means because it is exceptionally calculated to prove our proposition. Moreover, there is perhaps no period of what

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. i. p. 170. Mr. Rieu selects this manuscript as one possessing 'exceptional claim to attention.'

may be considered the mediæval age of Oriental history of which more frequent mention has been made by native writers. The Timurides were singularly fortunate in the number of their chroniclers. A glance over the volumes of the 'History of India, as told by its own historians, published from the posthumous papers of the late Sir Henry Elliott,' will satisfy the modern English reader that this is no mere assertion. The table of contents of the various works reviewed will afford ample proof of its correctness. But the number of native writers does not, it may be justly said, render the history more intelligible or to be trusted. There are, for instance, from the death of Timur to the accession of Ismail Sufi, a full hundred years of perplexity in the history of Persia. Sir John Malcolm has taken in hand the elucidation of the fortunes of that kingdom and its rulers from the earliest ages to the commencement of the present century, and has not omitted this particular cycle; but it is no depreciation of his work to say that here, as elsewhere, his useful labours have rather tended to erect a scaffolding than the building itself. He has not shown us what was Timur's Persia, as bequeathed to his descendants, apart from the great empire of which Samarkand was the central point; nor do we clearly discover the rise and progress in it of the Turkman power represented by Kára Yusuf and his sons, resulting in the downfall of the Black and the triumph of the White Sheep. 'Uzun Hasan,' he writes, 'after he had made himself master of Persia, turned his arms in the direction of Turkey;' and a little later, 'Uzun Hasan, who had, by his overthrow of Jahán Shah and the Sultan Abú Saiyid, become sovereign of all Persia:' but what were the then geographical limits of Persia, or indeed of *all* Persia, we are not informed, nor probably did the historian himself distinctly know.

Again, as to the descendants of Uzun Hasan there is very great perplexity. And this is enhanced by the juxtaposition of the genealogy of the Sufis with that of the Türkmans. Shaikh Safiu'-d-dín has a son, Sadru'd-dín,



whose immediate descendants are, according to Malcolm, Khwāja Ali, Shaikh Ibrahim, Junaid, and Shaikh Haidar, otherwise called Sultan Haidar. Uzun Hasan married the sister of Junaid, and was thus Haidar's uncle. He also became his father-in-law by giving him his daughter in marriage. Whether this lady was a princess of the Christian royal family of Trebizond or not, is a matter of discussion: but she is either to be accepted as plain Martha, or 'Alam Sha'á' the 'Light of the World,' unless it be possible to combine the two in one. But this perplexity is nothing to what follows. Sultan Haidar had three sons by his said wife—Sultan Ali, Ibrahim, and Shah Ismail. After his so-called martyrdom, the eldest son was proclaimed his successor: 'but,' we are told, 'he and his brothers were seized at Ardebil by Yakub, one of the descendants of their grandfather, Uzun Hasan, who, jealous of the numerous disciples that resorted to Ardebil, confined them to the hill fort of Istakhr in Fars, where they remained prisoners upwards of four years, when, taking advantage of the anarchy that followed Yakub's death, they made their escape, and fled to Ardebil, where they were soon joined by many of their adherents. But before a sufficient force could be collected, they were attacked, and Sultan Ali was slain. His brothers fled in disguise to Ghilan, where Ibrahim Mirza died.'<sup>1</sup>

Now, according to Father Krusinski, who collected his information chiefly at Ispahan, Yakub was the third son and successor of Uzun Hasan, and reigned seven years 'with great wisdom and moderation. On his death,' one Julaver seized upon the throne. He again was succeeded by Baisingar, and he by 'a young nobleman' named Rustam, who caused Sultan Haidar to be assassinated, his three sons making their escape.

I will give one more instance of conflicting statements:—

Shaikh Safi'ud-dín is said by some writers—among them D'Herbelot and Sir William Jones—to have been visited by Timur, who was so struck with his piety and mode of life,

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 499.

that he consented, at his request, to release some thousands of Circassian or Turkish prisoners taken in the war. Malcolm, following the native writers, makes the story apply to Sadru'd-dín, the son of Safiú'd-dín. Bizarus makes the compliment apply to Junaid, great-grandson of Sadru'd-dín. Tavernier and Gemelli transfer the same to Shaikh Haidar, son of Junaid. Shaikh Safi is said to have died in 1334, and Timur was born in 1336; so that if the visit was paid at all, it must have been to one of a later generation. The story has a kind of affinity with that of Alexander and Diogenes, and may owe something of its origin to the hero of Macedon, whose exploits have been exaggerated and acts perverted by the fancy of Persian poets.

Examples of conflicting statements such as these might be multiplied *usque ad infinitum*: and it is a task of immense difficulty for the historian to discriminate between truth and fiction. Something of the kind, no doubt, occurs in dealing with European annals and traditions; but the work is facilitated by a knowledge of the individuality of each principal actor in the events narrated. To take contemporary characters of history, we can picture to ourselves, as living persons, both Richard II. of England, and Charles VI. of France,<sup>1</sup> while we have no truer comprehension of Timur than has the *artiste* who represents him on the boards of a modern theatre. Want of knowledge, and consequently want of sympathy, seems to present an obstacle to the successful delineation of Oriental character which, more or less, affects the narrative of events, especially when this also is shrouded in mystery and confusion. But I will at once come to the third and concluding head of the discussion—how to produce an Oriental history not simply lucid and readable, but interesting and attractive also. The question has in this case some relation to a subject not long since brought before the Royal Asiatic Society, as to the means of making Asiatic studies more generally popular.

<sup>1</sup> *The Moine de St. Denys* says that Tamerlane sent Ambassadors to Charles VI. to let him know that he considered him the first king of the West.

It may be said that excellent histories of Eastern countries and Eastern politics are at the present moment available in English and other European languages; and that if the perusal of these is confined to comparatively few persons, the reason is simply because there are comparatively few readers to be found for books on Oriental subjects, in whatever form printed. I do not think that, however true the assertion, and however warranted the presumption, the explanation of the latter can be accepted as sufficient or satisfactory. Take any recently published successful book of which the scene is laid in India, such, for example, as Mr. Bosworth Smith's 'Life of Lord Lawrence.' Here is a work which has passed through five editions, and the sixth is about to appear in a cheaper form. The cause of its popularity is not the mere fact that the hero is one of ourselves, but that his portrait and its surroundings have been sketched with a masterly hand and in an *ad captandum* manner. Had the biographer dealt, in a like spirit and with like power, with a native Indian celebrity of the calibre of Timur, this life, too, would have presented equally attractive reading. But, unfortunately, the kind of development held appropriate to English character is not made applicable to the aborigines of the far East. Not many European authors have power to apply the process, even if they possessed the will. Perhaps, in reality, they have not the will, for there is no precedent to guide them; and in England we do things by rule, and give little encouragement, even in the so-called republic of letters, to deviation from precedent. As to the lack of power, it is not surprising that the Timurs and Mahmúds, the Nádirs and Haidars are confounded together, or separately misunderstood; for the meaning of a great man's actions must be read from the great man's own standpoint, and it may be that no European can, by erudition or intuition, realise the true genius of the Asiatic a whit more surely than the Asiatic can interpret the motives of the European from his outward acts.

Writers and scholars like Elliott and Erskine have supplied, either by translations or compiled histories, admirable

material for popular works : not, however, all that is needed in this respect. Research and criticism have still somewhat to add; and these should be supplemented by style and arrangement. Above all, the characters of Oriental history must be endowed with life—that life which enables the reader to comprehend their idiosyncrasies, and to follow their fortunes with interest and sympathy. Mr. Talboys Wheeler seems to me to have made a step in the right direction in the *History of India*, of which four volumes were published some eight or ten years ago. He sought to popularise his subject by making it his own rather than that of prosy native chroniclers, and by adopting a style which belonged to the age in which he lived. I cannot fully agree to his dictum on the truthfulness of the historians of the Musalman period; and he may have been a little too severe on their successors under the Mughal rule in India. But when he writes that ‘Jahangir and Shah Jahan . . . lauded as great and beneficent sovereigns . . . in reality . . . were the most shameless tyrants that ever disgraced a throne;’ and that ‘Mughal administration . . . held up as a model for British imitation . . . in reality . . . was a monstrous system of oppression and extortion;’<sup>1</sup> he is probably nearer the truth than the writers of Indian history with whom the British public is most familiar. Jahangir it would indeed be difficult to praise, but we are told by Maurice, a most industrious compiler, that he was ‘by nature not tyrannical or cruel;’ and that ‘on the whole he was a singular compound of very opposite qualities.’<sup>2</sup> Of Shah Jahan, a recent work of some pretension, professedly compiled from the best authorities, refers to the ‘energy and talent he had displayed during the greater part of his reign,’ and characterises that reign as ‘long and prosperous.’ It is added of this Emperor: ‘His subjects had enjoyed a degree of happiness to which they had previously been strangers. His wars, carried on for the most part on the outskirts of his dominions, had brought few calamities on his own subjects;

<sup>1</sup> *The History of India from the Earliest Ages*, by J. Talboys Wheeler : vol. iv. part i. (Trübner & Co., 1876).

<sup>2</sup> *The Modern History of Hindustan*, vol. ii. part i. (London, 1803).

while his internal administration had been singularly moderate and equitable.'<sup>1</sup> These new illustrations of perplexity in Oriental history are, be it said, incidental. My object in alluding to Mr. Wheeler's volumes was to show that he has rightly apprehended the public need of a writer who can, upon the data supplied him by past and present expounders of bygone annals, produce not merely a readable and trustworthy account, but an attractive and interesting story of the Eastern empires which have more or less influenced the Northern half of the hemisphere in which they are, geographically, so conspicuous.

I will now draw this too desultory paper to a conclusion, sensible that it is far short of what it should have been in exposition of a subject which merits much attention. It is very far short of what I myself could have wished to put before a Society such as this. But I had promised to prepare it for a particular date, and had not anticipated that fulfilment would necessitate a too perfunctory examination of references for completeness, in the real sense of the word. The outcome of the whole argument is this:—If it be difficult to write Oriental history at all on the conflicting evidence supplied, it is yet more difficult to render that history suitable to the tastes of a home public. The only chance of success lies in a careful collation of all existing histories, and acceptance of one which is the most likely and reasonable: to invest it, in its *de novo* relation, with the charm of attractive style; and to throw all necessarily long extracts, all contradictory statements in detail, all tedious genealogies and all seemingly pedantic etymologies, into an appendix, which, if intolerable to the ordinary reader, will be invaluable to the scholar and bookworm.

Mr. E. Delmar Morgan said:—‘I congratulate the Society on the very interesting paper they have heard from Sir Frederic Goldsmid, who has treated the subject of Tamerlane from a new and original point of view, showing the influence of the drama on history.

<sup>1</sup> *A Comprehensive History of India*, by Henry Beveridge, vol. i. (Blackie & Co.).

'The perplexities of Oriental history so ably illustrated by the lecturer, and so frequently met with by the student, arise not only from conflicting statements in contemporary records, but from the meagreness with which the best known modern authorities pass over important periods. The reign of Shah Tahmasp, alluded to by the lecturer, is an instance in point. Being desirous of finding some particulars of this sovereign, who ruled over Persia for about fifty years, I consulted in vain the great work of Sir John Malcolm and other well-known writers, for they dismiss this period of Persian history with a few paragraphs.

'The history of Timur, full of interest and romance as it is, possesses special claims on a society such as this at a time like the present, when the capital of this mighty conqueror, the far-famed Samarkand, has passed into the hands of the Russians, who take no pains to preserve from decay the splendid monuments of its former greatness. These are crumbling away or falling into ruins. But a large collection of valuable Oriental MSS. are stored in the University of St. Petersburg, which would well repay investigation.'

The Chairman (Mr. Hyde Clarke) said it was one object of the Royal Historical Society to promote the school of Oriental history, for not only had it deep interest for us on account of our Indian Empire, but it had been cultivated with success, and formed a distinctive feature in our titles to distinction. The difficulties of dynastic history in the East had been truly portrayed by the writer, and the complications of undetermined names constituted a great embarrassment. Having lived for some years in old Seljuk kingdoms he had seen this, as even for writing a sketch the materials were contradictory. Few monuments remained in the mosques and few tombstones. The only help was the occasional discovery of a coin, and these coins were not taken so much care of as the Greek, of which there were more collectors. The decipherment of coins by Edward Thomas, in the '*Numismata Orientalia*,' by Poole, and by others here, and by scholars abroad, built up genealogies and the framework of history into a connected form, and with ascertained dates. There was some hope that the school of history, which had been revived with some energy under Ahmed Jevdet Pasha, Munif Pasha, and other eminent men, would be able to do something for the history of the Seljuks and of Turkestan. Their attention to this had been spurred on by Vambéry, and they were enlarging and putting into order the ancient mosque and college libraries of their metropolis. Their chief object was naturally Ottoman history, but

they had many cultivators of Arab history. Sir Frederic Goldsmid had well put them in mind of one ancient connection history had with the people by means of the stage. For two centuries we had acquired our most graphic knowledge of Roman and of our national history from Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and the rise of the picturesque school of historians in France and England was probably to be traced to the efforts of Kemble and Talma to attract the public by correct costume, scenery, and accessories. This formed instruction of itself, but still more so when put into life by all the genius of great actors. The influence on modern history was coincident with the change from the incongruous costumes of Garrick and Lekain. The efforts of the painters had been applied in the same direction, but the painter came little in contact with the people until he had reached the period of engravings. The realistic and picturesque impulse had further been helped by the illustrated press and by more copious geographical delineation. He trusted that history would profit by the effect of these accessories, and gain more attention, not only from the public, but from students.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

THE first volume of Mr. LESLIE STEPHEN'S new work,<sup>1</sup> so eagerly expected, is now before us, and more than realises all the hopes we had entertained about it. Just as the dictionaries of Messrs. Murray and Skeat can compare favourably with M. Littré's lexicon, so we are at last able to oppose an excellently designed and carefully written dictionary of national biography to our French neighbours' over-praised *Biographie Universelle*. We regret that Mr. Stephen has not thought fit to usher in his work by a short preface indicating the plan according to which it has been compiled, and the limits within which it is to be comprised; the notices and prospectuses given from time to time in the journals and magazines scarcely make up for the absence of an introduction, however brief; and we trust that this desideratum may be supplied in the second volume.

Eighty-seven well-known writers have contributed to this first instalment; and the articles, extending from *Abbadie* to *Anne*, illustrate every branch of politics, art, science, and literature. The stage is represented as well as the pulpit. In every case the authorities consulted are given, and special pains have been bestowed upon the bibliographical references. Let us hope that as little delay as possible may occur in the publication of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and that we of the present generation may live to welcome the issue of the fiftieth volume.

The translation of Dr. CARL PETER'S<sup>2</sup> *Historical and Chronological Tables of Greek History* has been suggested to the authorities of the University of Cambridge, in consequence of some new regulations affecting the examination of undergraduates. Independently of this circumstance,

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*. Edited by Leslie Stephen. Vol. I.—*Abbadie—Anne*. 8vo., 474 pp. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronological Tables of Greek History, accompanied by a Short Narrative of Events, with References to the Sources of Information, and Extracts from the Ancient Authorities*. By Carl Peter. Translated from the German by G. Chawner, Fellow and Lecturer of King's College, Cambridge. 4to., xii—142 pp. Cambridge: at the University Press.

the volume before us certainly deserved to be republished in an English form, and the success it has obtained in Germany is a sufficient evidence of its merit. The introduction contains a brief account of Greece, its subdivision, physical characteristics, and oldest inhabitants. The tables are subdivided into parallel columns extending about halfway down each page, the other half being devoted to notes of two different kinds. We have, in the first place, brief explanations of the facts simply entered in the various columns; and secondly, short but excellent biographical sketches of the persons mentioned. We are glad to see that Dr. Peter's tables of Roman history are announced for immediate publication by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.

Sir WILLIAM MUIR<sup>1</sup> is so well known in connection with the history of Islam, that this new book of his is sure to command the attention of all students anxious to secure some brief and reliable information about Mahomed, and his character as a warrior and as the founder of a new religion. The author has limited himself strictly to a bio-

graphy of the prophet; but the appendix gives us a succinct appreciation of the Koran, the laws of Islam, and the relations which exist between the creed of the Mahomedans and Christianity. The Koran is, of course, the authority to which all appeal is made, and the decisions of which are absolutely final, however variously its meaning may be interpreted; but there is, besides, an immense store of traditions embodying the sayings and doings of Mahomed, originating from his immediate followers and companions, and which have been committed to writing, so as to form an additional rule for the faith and practice of believers. The second division of Sir William Muir's appendix contains a short statement of the principal laws which govern the Mahomedan community; and in the third we have a kind of comparative history of religion—that is to say, an estimate of Islamism as a rival claimant for authority with polytheism on the one hand, and Christianity on the other. The volume is illustrated with a large map of Arabia, and four engravings.

When an author professes to give,<sup>2</sup> in five hundred and sixty-

<sup>1</sup> *Mahomed and Islam: a Sketch of the Prophet's Life, from original sources, and a Brief Outline of his Religion.* By Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D. 8vo., vii—256 pp. London: Religious Tract Society.

<sup>2</sup> *An Epitome of History: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern.* By Carl Ploetz. Translated, with extensive additions, by W. H. Tillinghurst, Harvard College, Cambridge, U.S.A. 8vo., xi—618 pp. London: Blackie & Son.

four pages, a *résumé* of history—ancient, mediæval, modern—it is quite obvious that we cannot expect more than a string of names, an array of dates, and a condensed condensation, if we may so say, of facts. And yet it is wonderful to see how thoroughly well Dr. CARL PLOETZ has managed to get through a task which would seem at the first glance singularly dull and unattractive. This book, with its accompaniment of genealogical tables, is exactly the work which we would recommend to students as either a programme to be developed at leisure, or a help towards collecting together the results of previous teaching and reading. Mr. TILLINGHURST, the American author to whom we are indebted for the translation of this volume, has made numerous additions to it, and adapted it to the wants of pupils in our schools and universities.

The series of *Diocesan Histories* published by the Christian Knowledge Society is one which deserves to be extensively known, and which, when known, cannot fail to be appreciated as invaluable contributions to the history not only of the English Church, but of the social and domestic life of the English people. One

thing seems perfectly clear from Dr. JESSOPP's book on Norwich,<sup>1</sup> that although a notable improvement has taken place lately in the calendaring, *housing*, and preserving of parochial registers and other documents, a great deal still remains to be done. Huge bundles of papers are yet unsorted and buried under centuries' accumulation of dust; diocesan papers which ought to be at Sudbury, Norwich, or in the Norfolk archives, have found their way to the Bodleian; many are in the possession of private individuals; some belong now to the library of Cardinal Manning. We are told by Dr. Jessopp that the chief offenders in the dilapidation and unlawful appropriation of diocesan muniments were Foxe, the martyrologist, and Bishop Tanner. The former borrowed the registers of the see from Bishop Parkhurst, his intimate friend, made large extracts from them, but never returned them. Of the latter our author tells us that 'during the eleven years that he was Archdeacon of Norfolk he seems to have treated the records of the archdeaconry as if they were his own; and whenever he got an original document into his hands, he kept it and added it to his collec-

<sup>1</sup> *Diocesan Histories.*—*Norwich.* By the Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D., Rector of Scarning, late Head Master of King Edward VI.'s School, Norwich. 8vo., xii—254 pp. *Winchester.* By William Benham, B.D., F.S.A., Rector of St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street. 8vo., 285 pp. London: Christian Knowledge Society.

tion.' It is only fair to say, however, that although the Tanner MSS. have left the spot where they *ought to be*, they are, at any rate, carefully preserved; and, further, they are enumerated and described in 'incomparable catalogues, which would certainly never have been made if they had not found their way to Oxford.' Those readers who look for something more than mere details of Church history in a book like the present one will not be disappointed. The 'Black Death,' the relations existing during the Middle Ages between the clergy and the people, the details of country life, the ejection of married ecclesiastics in Queen Mary's time—all these and many more similar particulars are duly explained and recorded by Dr. Jessopp. The usual map and alphabetical index deserve also to be mentioned.

Mr. BENHAM'S account of the diocese of Winchester is equally interesting. Amongst the most striking pieces of information we have noticed is the paragraph about the Domesday Book, also called 'Liber de Wintonia,' from the fact, not that it gives any special details about the diocese, but because the presentation of it to King William in 1086 took place probably at Winchester.

As in the case of the volume we were examining just now, a good deal is said here about the old charters as evidence for the tenure of the land, the parish boundaries, and other such matters; but whatever trust we may have been disposed to place, *à priori*, upon these documents, must be shaken by the fact that a great proportion of them are known to be spurious, although, as the late Mr. Green observed, they were not forged for fraudulent purposes. 'A truer explanation,' Mr. Benham remarks, 'traces the forged documents to the frequent fires in those days through the monasteries being built of wood. Genuine documents were burned, and were reproduced from memory—not to rob others, but to secure what was already possessed.' An excellent appendix to Mr. Benham's volume gives statistical details on the Church lands, the alien priories, the various episcopal residences, the churches consecrated during the present century, and, finally, a list of the bishops and deans since the beginning.

The history of Henry IV., King of England, had never yet been written, and we have to thank Mr. WYLIE for supplying a desideratum which has too long been allowed to exist.<sup>1</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> *History of England under Henry the Fourth.* In two vols. By James Hamilton Wylie, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. Vol. I., 1399-1404. London: Longmans, pp. xvi-487.

is little doubt that the neglect which the fifteenth century has suffered at the hands of professed historians is mainly due to two causes : in the first place, the original English chroniclers and annalists of those times have not the merit of those who immediately preceded them ; and in the second, the events which marked the reign of Henry IV. are not of that brilliant, picturesque character which commands the attention of most readers. It is chiefly in the constitutional history of the reign that we must look for points of interest ; and thus viewed the work of Mr. Wylie deserves a distinguished place in all good libraries. The volume now before us extends from 1399 to 1404 ; we can therefore scarcely give just now an opinion on the writer's plan, and on his way of interpreting history ; but, so far as we are able to judge, he is careful in the choice of his authorities, and he has consulted all the documents and *pièces justificatives* which can throw any light on the period of which he treats. Amongst the chapters which will probably be found most interesting is the one on the Lollards, and that describing the share which the mendicant friars are supposed to

have had in preaching sedition and in spreading feelings of discontent against King Henry. We have here the earliest symptoms of the Reformation ; and in England, as well as on the Continent, we find the real opinions both on Church and State represented chiefly by the lower orders of the regular clergy, whose relations to the mob were closest and strongest. The religious questions of the fourteenth century afford Mr. Wylie ample opportunity for quoting from Chaucer and the various political songs published by Mr. Wright.

Professor BABINGTON'S *Ancient Cambridgeshire*,<sup>1</sup> the second edition of which has recently been issued, is really the expansion of a short essay on the Roman roads which crossed each other at Camboritum (Cambridge). Read at a meeting of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society thirty-five years ago, it was not published till 1853, and had in the interval been enlarged by the author so as to comprise an account not only of the roads, but of all the Roman remains existing in the county. Then, bearing in mind the fact that Cambridgeshire was thoroughly occupied in the Roman period, as is demonstrated by the large crop

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Cambridgeshire ; or, an Attempt to trace Roman and other Ancient Roads that passed through the County of Cambridge, with a Record of the Places where Roman Coins and other Remains have been found.* Second edition, much enlarged. By Charles Cardale Babington, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Fellow of St. John's College, and Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge. Deighton & Co. 8vo., pp. viii—116.

of coins and articles of pottery found in almost every parish, we cannot but rejoice at the development which Professor Babington has been led to give to his volume, which is, as a matter of fact, the only *complete* work we have on the subject he has undertaken to discuss. It is divided into six sections, corresponding respectively to the following topics :—1. Roman station at Cambridge. 2. Ancient roads through Cambridge. 3. Other ancient roads in Cambridgeshire. 4. Ancient ditches in Cambridgeshire. 5. The Car dyke. 6. The old course of the rivers through the fens. The epoch covered by the Roman occupation strictly marks the scope of Professor Babington's work; and British antiquities (stone implements, spear-heads, &c.) are rarely mentioned except when they are in some way associated with Roman remains. The pictorial illustrations comprise several plans, facsimiles of cups, inscriptions, &c., and a large map of the county, representing the direction of the ancient roads.

The publication of Dr. LECHLER's biography of Wycliffe<sup>1</sup> is thoroughly what the French would call *un ouvrage de circonstance*; it coincides with an

anniversary which many Englishmen will rejoice to celebrate, and it supplements in a fitting manner the work undertaken by the Wycliffe Society. It was in 1878 that the German original of the present volume was brought out for the first time; in addition to the life of the Reformer, it contained a large quantity of bibliographical details, notes, &c., and an account of the precursors of Wycliffe, not only in England, but throughout Europe. Dr. Lorimer, in translating for the benefit of English readers Dr. Lechler's masterly production, thought it advisable to condense or suppress all that was not immediately connected with the Reformation movement in this island. The original work consisted of two closely printed volumes of 1,400 pages, and the verbatim rendering of so bulky a biography would have been equally useless and impracticable. It was found that one single preliminary chapter would suffice to communicate all that the author had written respecting Grosseteste, Occam, and the rest of Wycliffe's fore-runners on English soil. Professor Lechler at once acceded to this reduced programme of the translation, and not only prepared for Dr. Lorimer's use a

<sup>1</sup> *John Wycliffe and his English Precursors*. By Professor Lechler, D.D., of the University of Leipzig. Translated from the German, with additional notes by the late Professor Lorimer, D.D. A new edition, revised; with chapter on the events after Wycliffe's death. 8vo., pp. xxii—512. London: Religious Tract Society.

new arrangement of the original text, but also made a careful revision both of text and notes. Thus modified and recast, the English translation was published eight years ago. The difference existing between the present edition and the first one may be conveniently given in the very words of the preface: 'Marginal summaries have been introduced, and a copious index added. The long quotations from Wycliffe's latter works, which formed a large part of Dr. Lechler's appendix, have been omitted, as hardly necessary in view of the probable publication of the Reformer's whole works. A chapter has, however, been added, containing a compendious summary of parts of Dr. Lechler's second volume, *Die Nachwirkungen Wiclifs*, with other matter bearing on the diffusion of his doctrines.' Seven illustrations have been added to this handsome octavo, which reflects the greatest credit upon the Religious Tract Society.

MR. KLEINWÄCHTER'S pamphlet<sup>1</sup> is a kind of bicentenary commemoration. In October 1883 two centuries had elapsed since the island of Formosa was joined to the Chinese Empire under the

Ta-Ching dynasty; this was an important event, and was worth while recording for the use of future historians. It would be interesting also to view the gradual extension of the Chinese government in the island, and the troubles which it has had there from time to time. Considering the relations at present existing between 'the Flowery Empire' and Europe, any information we can obtain on the Chinese, their policy, their conquests, and their administration is most welcome; and although Mr. Kleinwächter's monograph, originally published in the *China Review* (vol. xii., No. 4), is perhaps too brief, it gives us the main points of real importance. The inhabitants of Formosa have lost their liberty, but they are well treated by the Chinese officials; and it appears that in that case, as well as in many others we might name, material prosperity and security go a good deal towards making servitude acceptable.

Whilst several local magazines of antiquarian and historical value are discontinued from want of adequate support, we are glad to see that the *Western Antiquary*<sup>2</sup> still maintains its ground. It is

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Formosa under the Chinese Government.* (Published in the *China Review*, vol. xii., No. 4.) By George Kleinwächter, of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service. Hong-Kong: printed at the *China Mail Office*. 8vo., pp. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *The Western Antiquary, or Devon and Cornwall Note-book.* Edited by W. H. K. Wright, Borough Librarian, Plymouth. Fourth Series, Part VI. Plymouth: Lecke.



obvious that such publications are very much needed, and are calculated to be extremely useful, because our old friend the London *Notes and Queries*, even backed by such periodicals as the *Antiquary* and the *Antiquarian and Bibliographer*, cannot afford room for the increasing number of communications, both long and short, which local scholars are ever ready to bring to light. The present number of the *Western Antiquary*, besides various articles of interest, reviews, genealogical notes, &c., contains particulars of the London and suburban residences of Sir Walter Raleigh, notes on the family of Ley, Devonshire local rhymes and proverbs, and other similar topics. The illustrations are views and details of Talland Church, Cornwall, and the escutcheon of James Ley, who, after being made peer of the realm under the title of Baron Ley of Ley, in the county of Devon, by James I., was advanced by Charles I. to the dignity of Earl of Marlborough, in the county of Wilts.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*<sup>1</sup> combines the features of a review and a notes-and-queries illustrated journal. Amongst the

articles of some length inserted in the two *fasciculi* now before us we have noticed a very interesting account of the colony of New Sweden, one of the Society of Friends at Burlington, and one of the Welsh settlement at Gwynwd in South Pennsylvania, the origin of which is traced back to the beginning of the last century. Mr. Shea's biographical sketch of Richard de Beaujeu cannot fail to strike French readers, giving as it does the most salient points in the life of a Canadian officer who, as Mr. Shea remarks, 'planned the boldest operations of French arms against the English in the struggle for supremacy in the New World.' As a specimen of the papers on subjects of temporary importance, we may mention the account of the inauguration of a new hall, constructed for the use of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The essays published under the title of *Johns Hopkins University Studies*<sup>2</sup> are in no wise limited to strictly American subjects, although they are issued at Baltimore, and the authors have been at some time or other connected with a teaching body belonging to that city. On the present occasion, however, we

<sup>1</sup> *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Vol. viii., parts 1 and 2. 8vo. Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*. Herbert B. Adams, editor. Second Series. Nos. v.-x. 8vo. Baltimore: Murray.

have to notice four remarkable disquisitions referring immediately to America: two deal with taxation (V.-VI., taxation in the United States; VIII.-IX., Indian money as a factor in New England civilisation); a third, which describes the formation and organisation of the State of Iowa, is particularly curious as showing us the origin of most political communities in modern North America (VII., institutional beginnings of a western State); the fourth, finally (X., town and county government in the English colonies of North America), proves that in those colonies town and county government were *both* the survival of the English common law parish of 1600. 'In the old dominion,' says the author, 'and in Massachusetts, the county was the offspring of the city and plantation. In the northern colony, the town, which was but the successor of the plantation, remained as the basis of the social organisation; while in the southern colony the municipal divisions entirely disappeared, and the parish filled the vacancy as well as it could.'

The *United Service*<sup>1</sup> is also a Philadelphia review; and although mainly devoted, as its

title sufficiently shows, to things military, it readily opens its pages to novels (*One of the Duanes*, by Mrs. HAMILTON), and to poetry, (*The Rescue*, by MARGARET OWEN). The paper on the condition of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is full of real value. Each number of the Review, in addition to articles properly so called, contains editorial notes and brief paragraphs, grouped together under the title of *Service Literature*.

Mr. FORREST has done timely service<sup>2</sup> to readers who take an interest in Indian affairs by publishing the official writings of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone. There was, indeed, scarcely a branch of the service, scarcely a problem connected with the government of India, which Mr. Elphinstone did not discuss; and he brought to the investigation of these problems vast experience and a liberal and highly cultivated mind. The volume we are now noticing has therefore the two-fold merit of being at the same time a record of past transactions, and also an admirable guide for persons who may either just now, or at some future time, be employed in the administration of India. By way of preface,

<sup>1</sup> *The United Service, or Monthly Review of Military and Naval Affairs*. Vol. xi., No. 4. 8vo. Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> *Selections from the Minutes and other Official Writings of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, with an Introductory Memoir*. Edited by George W. Forrest, Fellow of the University of Bombay. London: Bentley. 8vo., x—578 pp.

Mr. Forrest has added a biographical sketch mainly based on Sir Edward Colebrooke's memoir published in the *Royal Asiatic Journal*.

Messrs. Chapman and Hall's useful series of military biographies has lately been enriched by Colonel MALLESON's life of the distinguished Austrian, Marshal Loudon, or Laudon, as he is sometimes called.<sup>1</sup> We are thus invited to study once more the events connected with the Seven Years' War, and to go over the ground already visited by Thomas Carlyle, and quite recently by the Duc de Broglie. Colonel Malleson has done his work with his usual care. A portrait of Loudon and four excellent maps add much to the value of the book.

No one will accuse Sir SPENSER ST. JOHN<sup>2</sup> of seeing things *couleur de rose*; if his account of Hayti is a correct one—and there is no reason to doubt it—that island is in a state of moral, political, and material decay which it is frightful to contemplate. The mulatto element will soon be entirely superseded by the negro one, with all its

characteristics of fetishism, cannibalism, &c. Sir Spenser St. John, before holding the position of Special English Envoy to Mexico, was for many years Minister Resident and Consul-General in Hayti, and he therefore speaks of things which he thoroughly knows. There are, he says, materials in abundance for any one who would feel tempted to write a complete history of the island; but the record of an endless succession of civil wars and disturbances would be useless; and therefore our author has wisely, we think, contented himself with a summary, completing it by separate chapters on the geographical features of Hayti, its religion, army, language, literature, &c. A good map faces the title-page.

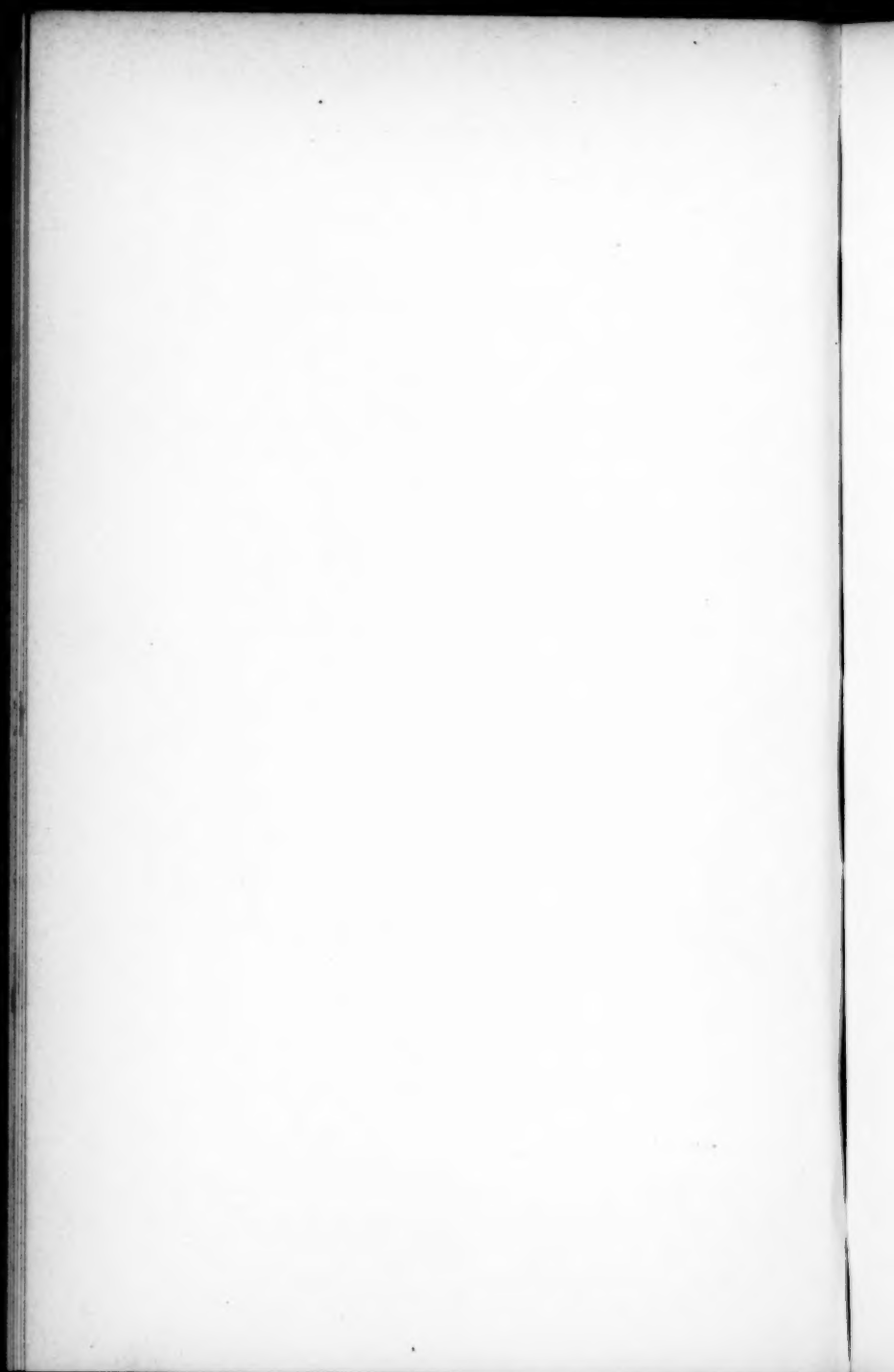
The letters of Jane Austen,<sup>3</sup> edited by Lord BRABOURNE, will disappoint the many admirers of the accomplished novelist. They are, as a rule, provokingly uninteresting, and half of them might certainly have been omitted. In fact, it is a pity that only a selection was not given by way of illustrating Mr. Austen Leigh's memoir.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

<sup>1</sup> *Military Biographies*—London. By Colonel Malleson, C.S.I. London: Chapman & Hall. 8vo., vi—241 pp.

<sup>2</sup> *Hayti, or the Black Republic*. By Sir Spenser St. John. London: Smith & Elder. 8vo., xiv—343 pp.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of Jane Austen*. Edited, with an introduction and critical remarks, by Edward, Lord Brabourne. London: Bentley. 2 vols. 8vo., xv—740 pp.



# INDEX.

- AARON, early British martyr, 141  
 — church in honour of, 142  
 Adelfius, Bishop, at the Council of Arles, 145  
 Adh  mar, Count, French ambassador, his action as regards the treaty of commerce with England, 351, 355  
   thelstan, King of Kent, his fight with the Danes, 313  
   thelwulf, King of the West Saxons, his victory over the Danes, 313  
 Africa, South, historical sketch of, 1-60  
 — prehistoric remains in, 3  
 Agricola, son of Severianus, introduces Pelagianism into Britain, 156  
 Aidan, Bishop of Northumbria, his observance of Easter tolerated by Archbishop Honorius, 151  
 Akemie, chief of the Namaquas, 53  
 — Van Riebeck mediates between him and the Cochoquas, 54  
 Alban, Saint, traditions of, 139-141  
 — Saint Germain's visit to his tomb, 140, 160  
 — church at Auxerre dedicated to, 160  
 Alcohol, its beneficial effect on races, 188  
 Alfred the Great compared with Arthur, 189  
 Alhacen, as to his identification, 372  
 Almeida, Francisco d', Count of Abrantes, killed at Table Bay, 6  
 Alvensleben, his share in the Triple Alliance of 1788, 95  
 Amator, Bishop of Auxerre, story of him and Saint Germanus, 157  
 Amphibalus, Saint, 141  
 Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea, his Easter cycle, 149  
 Angles, their superior stature, 174  
 Anglia, East, Celtic characteristics in, 174  
 Anskar, Saint, Bishop of Bremen, his relations with Eric of Denmark, 306  
 — his church at Sleswig, 307  
 Apostles, the, their alleged presence in Britain, 119-123  
 Arianism in Britain, 148  
 Aristobulus, his alleged presence in Britain, 123  
 Arles, Council of (A.D. 314), British bishops at, 145, 146  
 Armagh, plundered by the Norsemen, 315, 316  
 Arthur, legend of, 178 (*note*)  
 — compared with Alfred the Great, 189  
 — as to his personality, 194-196  
 Arviragus, 124  
 Arwystl, meaning of the name, 123  
 Athanasius, Saint, speaks of British bishops at the Council of Sardica, 146  
 Athenians, noted for drunkenness, 188  
 Auckland, Lord, *see* Eden, W.  
 Augulus, Bishop, 142  
 Augustine, Saint, his estimate of Pelagius and Celestius, 154, 155  
 Aulus Plautius, Governor of Britain, 131  
*Austria, House of, its lost opportunities*, paper by Colonel Malleon, 225-253  
 Autshumao, *see* Harry.  
 Auxerre, church at, dedicated to Saint Alban, 160  
 BACKERIAS, MR., first ordained clergyman in the Cape Settlement, 16  
 B  le, peace of, 96  
 Balobriga, identified with Volobriga, 312 (*note*)  
 Barentz, William, Arctic explorer, 9  
 Barming, Roman-Christian (?) monument found at, 168  
 Basilidian talisman found at Llanbelig, 165  
 Batavia, founded by the Dutch, 11  
 Bath, Roman-Christian (?) monument found at, 168

- Bavaria, as to the exchange of for the Netherlands, 78, 80, 231, 242, 243, 249
- Beachrangers (Goringhaikonas), friendly policy of Van Riebeck towards, 15
- their cattle-raid, 23
- Beauvais, burnt by the Danes, 311, 312
- Beorthwulf, King of the Mercians, defeated by the Danes, 313
- Bettws Garmon church, dedicated to Saint Garmon, 162
- Beveridge, H., his *History of India*, 386
- Bible, citations from in Gildas, 151
- Bishops, consecration of regulated by the Council of Arles, 146
- British, at the various councils, 145, 146, 148
- seek aid against Pelagianism, 156
- Blank, Jan, his desertion and punishment, 18
- Bleiddian, *see* Lupus, Saint
- Boom, Annetje, the Company's cows leased to by Van Riebeck, 30
- Boom, Hendrick, 16, 30
- loss and recovery of his cattle, 40
- elected burgher councillor, 55
- Bordeaux, headquarters of Osker the Dane, 312, 315
- Boulton, Matthew, his proposed removal to France, 355
- Boyle, Hon. Robert, appointed Governor of the New England Company, 294
- his bequest to the Company, 296
- Brahmins, duty of supporting, enjoined in the Mahābhārata, 287
- Fran, the Blessed, story of, 126
- Brant, Captain John, 298
- Brantford, West Canada, mission church at, 298
- Bridal gifts, custom of, mentioned in the Mahābhārata, 277
- Bristol, Protestant martyrs at, 64, 66
- Britain, *Roman, Christianity in*, paper by H. H. Howorth, 117-172
- Britons, their physical and mental characteristics, 173, 183-185
- character of the race, 174 *et seq.*
- as to their extermination by the 'Saxons,' 178
- Brixworth, Roman-Christian Church at, 170
- Browning, Oscar, his paper on *The Triple Alliance of 1788*, 77-96
- his paper on *The Commercial Treaty between France and England in 1786*, 349-364
- Burghers, free, land allotted to, 30, 58
- terms granted to, 34, 43
- their dealings with the slaves, 39
- militia of, 44, 45
- Bushmen, their predatory habits, 36
- Busk, H. W., his sketch of the New England Company, 301
- CAERLEON, martyrdom and churches of Julian and Aaron at, 142
- Roman-Christian (?) monument found at, 168
- Canterbury, taken by the Danes, 313
- Canterbury, St. Martin's, date of the church, 169
- St. Saviour's, 169
- Cape of Good Hope, doubled by Dias, 5
- original name for, *ib.*
- doubled by Vasco da Gama and other explorers, 6, 7
- first English account of, 7
- English occupation at, 8
- primitive Dutch post office at, 11
- Dutch settlement at, 12-14
- Dutch rule at, 14 *et seq.*
- suggestion to cut a canal across, 31
- luxuriant vegetation at, *ib.*
- Caradoc Vreichbras, 126
- Carlowitz, Peace of, 229, 230
- Carmarthen, Lord, his diplomatic instructions concerning Joseph II., 81
- his policy towards France and Austria, 87
- his instructions to Sir J. Harris, 84
- on the proposed commercial treaty with France, 351, 352
- Carthage, Council of (A.D. 415), Pelagius condemned at, 154
- Catherine II., Empress of Russia, her policy of extension, 77
- her ill-feeling towards Frederick the Great, 79
- Catholics of the sixteenth century, represented by Royalists in the seveneenth, 74
- Catterick, Christian symbols on Samian ware found at, 168
- Celestine I., Pope, sends Saint Germanus to Britain, 157
- Celestius, disciple of Pelagius, 153
- his condemnation and banishment, 154
- as to his origin, 155
- Celts, their physical characteristics, 173, 183-185

- as to their extermination, 179
- predominance of their type in England, 184
- survival of the language in English, 186
- Charles the Bald, King of the West Franks and Emperor, extent of his kingdom, 304
- Charles VI., Emperor, his accession, 240
  - his policy with regard to Spain, 241
  - sends Eugene to confer with England, 242
  - declines to sign the Peace of Utrecht, 243
  - his Pragmatic Sanction, 244 (*note*), 245
  - his mistrust of Charles Albert of Bavaria, 245
- Charles VII., Emperor (Elector of Bavaria), his claim to the Austrian dominions, 245
  - his scheme for uniting Bavaria to the Empire, *ib.*
  - his election and death, 246
- Charles I., King of England, number of his adherents in the House of Commons, 75
- Charles VI., King of France, alleged embassy of Timur to, 384 (*note*)
- Charles Philip, Elector Palatine, alienated from Charles VI., 245
- Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine, 246
  - offered the Austrian Netherlands in exchange for Bavaria, 249
- Chedworth, Christian monograph on tiles found at, 167
- Chemong Station of the New England Company, 299
- Chichester, Roman inscription found at, 130
- China, stationary character of, 256, 266
  - education in, 256
  - hero-worship in, 261, 264
  - impossibility of scepticism in, 263
- Chinese, recommended as colonists at the Cape by Van Riebeck, 18
  - misrepresented as atheists, 261
  - their high state of civilisation, 267
- Chinese language, difficulties of, 254
- Chobonas, the, 58
- Christian-Roman remains, 167-170, 171, 172
- Christianity in Roman Britain*, paper by H. H. Howorth, 117-172
- Chrysostom, Saint, mentions the spread of Christianity to Britain, 148
- Church, British, not mentioned by Irenæus, 136
  - heretical doctrines in, 148, 152 *et seq.*, 165
  - adopts the Easter cycle of Severus, 149, 150
  - and the 'Itala' version of the Bible, 151
  - form of tonsure used in, 151, 152
- Church, Dutch Reformed, rites of enforced at the Cape, 49
- Claudia, mentioned by Saint Paul, as to her identity, 128-132
- Clement Augustus, Elector of Cologne, supports Charles Albert of Bavaria, 245
- Cochoquas, their feuds with the Kaapmans, 42, 56
  - trade with the Dutch, 42
  - Van Riebeck mediates between them and the Namaquas, 54
- Coel, Duke of Kaercolvin, 144
- Coffin, General, Commissioner to the New England Company, 296
- Cogidubnus, Tiberius Claudius, 130
- Coins, forged, with the name of Luc, 135
- Commons, House of, under Charles I., distribution of Royalists and Puritan members, 75
- Con, Jan, his seizure and detention, 40
- Confucius, his *Tchōng-Yōng*, 254-271
- Constantine the Great, Emperor, calls a council at Arles, 145
- Constantius Chlorus, clemency of his rule in Britain, 138
- Constantius, Bishop of Lyons, author of the *Life of Saint Germanus*, 140, 156, 158
- Corbridge-on-the-Tyne, Christian monogram on cup found at, 167
- Cornelissen, Councillor, dismissed from office, 55
- Coroticus, St. Patrick's epistle to, 166
- Corral, history of the word, 29
- Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, does not represent Oxford Protestantism, 66
- Crauford, Mr., commissioned to arrange a commercial treaty with France, 350, 353
- Cromwell, Oliver, orders a subscription for the New England Company, 294
- DANES, Their Intercourse with the Franks*, paper on, by H. H. Howorth, 302-334



- Darwin, Charles, Celtic character of his features, 189
- Davis, John, visits the Cape of Good Hope, 7
- Davy, Major, on Timur's Memoirs, 373
- Deruvian, or Dyvan, his alleged mission to Britain, 134
- Devonshire, failure of an anti-Catholic rising in, 70
- Dias, Bartholomew, doubles and names the Cape of Good Hope, 5
- his death, 6 (*note*)
- Dorestaat, held by Kurik and Harald, 307
- burning of, 308
- restored to Kurik, 310
- Dornan, Hottentot interpreter, 29, 36, 52
- begs to be called Anthony, 40
- his action against Jan Con, *ib.*
- leads Kaapman raids on the Dutch, 45
- makes a treaty with them, 48
- sent on an expedition to the Namaquas, 52
- Dorniton, Captain, his description of Table Bay, 7
- Douai, foundation of the college at, 72
- Dover, Roman-Christian church at, 169
- Drake, Sir Francis, doubles the Cape of Good Hope, 7
- Drew, Dr. Joseph, 113
- Druids, their knowledge of astronomy, 187
- their religion, 190
- Dun Masg, plundered by the Danes, 318
- Dutch, their settlement in Java, 9, 11
- at the Cape, 11, 12-14 *et seq.*
- Dwaravati, description of, 285
- EAST India Company, Netherlands General, formation of, 9, 10
- establish themselves in Java, 10
- and at the Cape, 11 *et seq.*
- chaplains appointed by, 16
- constitution of their various 'councils,' 17
- their despatches regarding the war with England, 21, 26
- their policy towards the natives, 24, 35
- encourage free families to emigrate, 30
- Easter, observation of, regulated by the council of Arles, 146
- cycles framed for, 149
- Eborius, Bishop of York, at the council of Arles, 145
- Eden, William (Lord Auckland), sent to negotiate a treaty of commerce with France, 355 *et seq.*
- Elafius, miracle wrought on his son, 163
- Eleutherus, Pope, legend of his mission to King Lucius, 133, 134
- Eliot, John, his missionary work, 293
- 'Eliot tracts,' the, 293
- England, at war with the Dutch, 21
- makes peace, 26
- local progress of Protestantism in, 61-76
- her trade with Flanders, 63
- her suspicious dealings towards France, 81
- signs a peace with Holland, 82
- desires to ally herself with Holland and Prussia, 84, 87
- promises support to Holland, 90
- prepares to intervene on behalf of William V., 92
- signs the Triple Alliance, 93-95
- her commercial treaty with France in 1786, 349-364
- state of, after the American war, 354
- English Language and Literature before the Conquest*, paper on, by Dr. Thornton, 197-214
- Eric, King of Denmark, his relations with Saint Anskar, 306
- warned not to molest the Christians, 308
- his feud with his nephews, 309
- Eriswell, property of the New England Company at, 294
- Estienne, Bishop, wrecked at the Cape, 49
- Eugene of Savoy, Prince, his share in the negotiations with Louis XIV., 234-236
- his letter to Zinzendorff, 237
- sent to confer with Lord Oxford, 242 and to negotiate peace at Rastadt, 243
- Europe, state of, in 1784, 77-81
- Eva, niece of Harry, trained as an interpreter by Van Kiebeck, 20
- acts as interpreter, 36, 50
- pleads for the Beachrangers, 40
- trades with the Cochoquas, 42
- and tells them of the Christian faith, *ib.*

- Evagrius Ponticus, 153  
 Evesham, Roman remains in the church at, 169 (*note*)
- FASTIDIUS, his works, 164  
 — his relics preserved at Saint Germain, 164 (*note*)  
 Faustus, Bishop of Riez, history of, 164-5  
 Faustus, son of Vortigern, legend of his adoption by Saint Germanus, 164  
 Felix, Bishop of East-Anglia, his toleration of Saint Aidan, 151  
 Ferdinand I., Emperor, elected King of Bohemia and of Hungary, 226  
 Ferdinand II., Emperor, estimate of his character, 227  
 Fifehead Neville, silver rings with Christian symbols found at, 171  
 Fitzherbert, Captain Humphrey, takes possession of the Cape of Good Hope, 8  
 Flanders, English trade with, 63  
 Fontanelle, monastery burnt by the Danes, 312  
 Forannan, Abbot of Armagh, taken by the Danes, 317  
 Foxe, John, deductions drawn from his lists of martyrs, 63  
 Framton, mosaic found at, 167  
 France, her commercial treaty with England in 1786, 349, 364  
 — her relations with Holland and Austria, 80, 83  
 — English suspicion of, 81, 354  
 — mediates between Joseph II. and the Dutch, 86  
 — her alliance with Holland, 87  
 — danger to England of her supremacy over Holland, 90  
 — forced to abstain from intervention in Holland, 91-93  
 — her attitude towards the Triple Alliance, 93  
 — effects of the Triple Alliance on, 96  
 Frederica Wilhelmina, Princess of Orange, her character, 83, 85  
 — leaves the Hague, 86  
 — refuses to desert her husband, *ib.*  
 — attempts to place herself at the head of the Stadtholder's party, 91  
 — her capture and release, 91  
 — joins her husband at the Hague, 93  
 — letter of George III. to, 94  
 Frederick II. (the Great) of Prussia, his war of the Bavarian Succession, 247-249  
 — forms the League of Princes, 78, 86, 250  
 — his relations with Catherine, 79  
 — his death, 88  
 Frederick William II. of Prussia, his character, 88  
 — desires an alliance with England, *ib.*  
 — recalls Görz, 88  
 — sends troops into Holland to restore William V., 91-93  
 — forms the Triple Alliance, 93-95  
 Free trade, French principles of, 349  
 Frere, Sir Bartle, his *Historical Sketch of South Africa*, i.  
 Fürstenbund, 78, 86, 250
- GALTON, Lieutenant Pierre, wrecked at the Cape, 49  
 Gama, Vasco da, doubles the Cape of Good Hope, 6  
 Game laws enacted by the Dutch at the Cape, 32  
 Garden River Station of the New England Company, 300  
 Gardiner, Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, no martyrdoms under, in his diocese, 67  
 Gardiner, S. R., on Ferdinand II., 227  
 Garmon, Saint (Germanus), churches dedicated to, 162  
 Gathema, Abraham, 37  
 Gaul, date of the conversion of, 137  
 — spread of Pelagianism in, 155  
 Gelasius of Cyzicum, his testimony to the non-presence of British bishops at the Council of Nicaea, 147  
 Gentiles, White and Black, use of the phrase, 325  
 George III., of England, his letter to the Princess of Orange, 94  
 Germanus, Saint, Bishop of Auxerre, his mission to Britain, 140, 156, 160-162  
 — his early history, 157, 158  
 — his second visit to Britain, 162  
 — his death at Ravenna, *ib.*  
 — Welsh churches dedicated to, 162  
 — story of his adoption of Faustus, 164  
 Ghent, Saint Bavon's, burnt by the Danes, 311  
 Gildas, as to his evidence for Christian persecutions in Britain, 126, 139, 143  
 — on the preaching of Christianity, 127  
 — his citations from the Bible, 151  
 Glass, mention of in the Mahābhārata, 275

- Glastonbury, legend of Joseph of Arimathea at, 124  
 — as to the foundations of the church, 124-126  
 Goens, Admiral van Ryklof, suggests a canal at the Cape, 31  
 — appointed High Commissioner at the Cape, 34  
 — encourages Van Riebeck's exploring schemes, 37  
 Gogosoa, native chief, 15, 36  
 — his seizure and detention, 40  
 — his treaties with Van Riebeck, 42, 48  
 Gold mines, ancient, in the Transvaal, 52  
 Goldsmid, Sir F. J., his paper on *The Perplexities of Oriental History*, 365-387  
 Gonnema, the Black Captain, his encampment at Rondebosch, 29  
 Gorachouquas, Hottentot tribe, 15  
 — their treaty with Van Kiebeck, 49  
 Goringhaikonas, *see* Beachrangers.  
 Goringhinquas, *see* Kaapmans.  
 Gorm, his strife with his uncle Eric, 309  
 — his ravages in South Britain, 313  
 — his campaign in Ireland, 325-334  
 Götz, Count, sent by Frederick William II. to confer with Harris, 88  
 Grand River Station, of the New England Company, 297-299  
 Groote Schuur, the, 38  
 Gundisalf, Saint, Bishop of Mondonnedo, 312
- HABSBURG, House of, crown of Hungary conferred on, 230  
 Hagen, Stephen van der, 11  
 Haidar, Sultan, 383  
 Halstock, tessellated pavement found at, 172  
 Harpole, pavement found at, 167  
 Harris, Sir J., appointed minister in Holland, 82  
 — his instructions, 84  
 — his impressions of affairs in Holland, 85  
 — urges an alliance with Holland and Prussia, 86  
 — his interview with the Princess of Orange, 86  
 — confers with Count Götz, 88  
 — advises William V. to protect himself, 88  
 — points out the danger of French supremacy over Holland, 89  
 — seeks assistance from England, 89  
 — comes to England to confer, 90  
 — returns with promises of help, *ib.*  
 — prepares to leave the Hague, 92  
 — negotiates the alliance between England and Prussia, 93-95  
 Harry (Autshumao), serves as interpreter, 14, 19  
 — his praise of the English, 20  
 — his disappearance and return, 23, 28  
 — his trading expedition, 29  
 — Van Riebeck's dealings with, about cattle, 31, 35  
 — his imprisonment, 41  
 — used as interpreter in the war with the Kaapmans, 46  
 — escapes to Saldanha Bay, 47  
 Harwarden, Jan van, tavern license granted to his wife, 30  
 — one of the 'council,' 32  
 — sent on an exploring expedition, 38  
 — sent to seize Harry's cattle, 41  
 — his promotion and death, 44  
 Hawkesbury, Lord, *see* Jenkinson.  
 Heemskerk, Jacob, Arctic explorer, 9  
 Helena, Empress, her legendary British origin, 143  
 Henry II., his charter to Glastonbury Abbey, 125  
 Henry, Prince, brother of Frederick the Great, commands the army against Laudon, 247-249  
 Henry of Portugal, life and discoveries of, by Mr. Major, 6 (*note*)  
 Hermann, Wolfert, defeats the Portuguese, 11  
 Herodotus mentions the circumnavigation of Africa, 4  
 Hilary, Bishop of Arles, charged with Pelagianism, 153  
 Hilary, Saint, of Poitiers, congratulates British bishops on freedom from heresy, 147  
 Hindustan, civilisation of, at the date of the Mahābhārata, 286  
 Holland, pre-eminent among the United Provinces 82  
 — patriots strong in, 83  
 — suspends William V., 88  
 — forced to restore him, 92  
 — and to repudiate French interference, 93. *See also* United Provinces  
 Honorius, Emperor, condemns Pelagius, 154  
 Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, his toleration of Saint Aidan, 151  
 Horkston, mosaic found at, 167

- Hoorn, G. van, appointed Governor at the Cape, 57  
 — dies on the voyage, *ib.*  
 Hottentots, hostility among the clans, 15  
 — raids made by, on the Dutch, 23, 27, 31, 44  
 — statement of their grievances against the Dutch, 48  
 Houtman, Cornelis, 9  
 Howorth, H. H., his paper on *The Intercourse of the Danes with the Franks*, 302-324  
 — his paper on *Christianity in Roman Britain*, 117-172  
 Hungary, crown conferred on House of Habsburg, 230 (*note*)
- IBERIANS, their physical characteristics, 114  
 Indian reserve, 298  
 Indians, North American, company formed to propagate the Gospel among, 293-301  
 — land assigned to, 298  
 Indies, East, first English expedition to, 7  
 Innocent I., Pope, supports Pelagius, 154  
 Instantius, Spanish bishop, banished from Britain, 165  
 Ireland, proof of early Christianity in, 167  
 — Norse invasions of, 314 *et seq.*  
 — Pitt's measure for establishing free trade with, 354  
 Irenæus makes no mention of a church in Britain, 136
- JAHAN, Shah, estimate of, 386  
 Jahangir, estimate of, 385  
 James the Great, Saint, his alleged presence in Britain, 123  
 Janssen, David, killed by natives, 23  
 Janssen, Leendert, urges the formation of a fort at Table Bay, 12  
 Janssen, Simon, murdered by the Kaapmans, 45  
 Java, Dutch settlement in, 9, 11  
 Jenkinson, Charles (Lord Liverpool), his action as regards the commercial treaty with France, 360-362  
 Jerome, Saint, his use of the word Britain, 148  
 — his invective against Pelagius, 154  
 Jervis, W. H., 113
- Jesuits, English, list of, 73  
 John, Saint, his alleged presence in Britain, 123  
 John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, supports Pelagius, 152-154  
 John II., of Portugal, names the Cape of Good Hope, 5  
 Jones, Sir W., on Timur, 368  
 Joseph of Arimathea, his alleged mission to Britain, 124-126  
 Joseph I., Emperor, 230  
 — his negotiations with Louis XIV., 234 *et seq.*  
 — his death, 240  
 Joseph II., Emperor, his war of the Bavarian Succession, 246-249  
 — designs to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria, 78, 80, 249  
 — his relations with Louis XIV., 81  
 — Lord Carmarthen's policy towards, *ib.*  
 — Scheldt declared open by, 82, 84, 85  
 — demands the cession of Maestricht, 84  
 — claims compensation for it, 85  
 — France mediates between him and the Dutch, 86  
 Julius, early British martyr, 141  
 — church in honour of, 142
- KAAFMANS, trade with the Dutch, 19  
 — make raids on them, 27, 44  
 — seizure and detention of chiefs, 40  
 — treaties made with, 42, 48  
 — expedition against, 47  
 — seek Dutch protection against the Cochoquas, 56  
 Kapila, identical with Krishna, 291  
 Kaunitz, Prince, makes an alliance with France, 80  
 Keith, Sir R. Murray, ambassador, his diplomatic instructions concerning Joseph II., 81  
 Kent, preponderance of Protestant martyrs in, 64, 66, 72  
 Klapmuts, Mount, 37  
 K'ral, origin of the word, 29  
 Krishna, tale of his awakening the sleeping king, 274  
 — meaning of the name and other titles, 277, 290  
 — allusion to in the Mahābhārata, 280 *et seq.*  
 — account of his incarnation, 285  
 — worship of, 286, 291  
 — identical with Kapila, 291

Kufer Island, Station of the New England Company, 300

LANCASTER, Captain James, his visits to the Cape of Good Hope, 7

Laò-tsè, 265, 268

Latimer, Hugh, does not represent Oxford Protestantism, 66

Laudon, Field Marshal, commander in the war of the Bavarian Succession, 247

— his ability as a general, 248 (*note*), 250

League of Princes, the, 78, 86, 250

Leicestershire, failure of an anti-Catholic rising in, 70

Leonard Dacres, his rebellion, 69

Leopold I., Emperor, 230

Lewis II., of Hungary, killed at Mohacs, 226

Lewis, M. G. (*Monk Lewis*), his *Timour*, 379

Libya, mention of by Herodotus, 5

Lincoln, St. Mary le Wigford, Roman monument and Christian inscription at, 168, 172

Lincoln, diocese of, few executions for heresy in, 67

Lincolnshire, Catholic feeling in, 69

Linschoten, Jan Huyghen van, his explorations, 8

Linus, mentioned by Saint Paul, as to his identity, 129, 132

Liverpool, Lord, *see* Jenkinson

Llanarmon church, dedicated to Saint Garmon, 162

Llanbelig, alleged Basilidian talisman found at, 165

Llanvechain church, dedicated to Saint Garmon, 162

Llanvleiddian Vach church, dedicated to Saint Lupus, 162

Llanvleiddian Vawr church, dedicated to Saint Lupus, 162

Lleirwg, name identified with Lucius, 134

London, preponderance of Protestant martyrs in, 64, 66, 71

— taken by the Danes, 313

Loo, treaty of, 95

Lothaire I., Emperor, extent of his kingdom, 303

— arrests Rurik, 307

— makes a compact with him, 309, 310

Lotharingia, style of architecture in, 303

Louis the German, King of the East Franks, extent of his kingdom, 305

— shelters Rurik, 307

Louis XIV., his negotiations with the Allies, 230 *et seq.*

— commissions Torcy to bribe Marlborough, 235

— his policy on the death of Joseph I., 240

Louis XVI., his peace policy, 79

— his relations with Holland and Austria, 80

Luc, forged coins with the name of, 135

Lucius Verus, Emperor, whether identical with the legendary King Lucius, 134

Lucius, legendary King of Britain, 132–136

Lupus, Saint, Bishop of Troyes, his mission to Britain, 156, 160–162

— history of, 159

— churches dedicated to, 162

Lydda, synod of, 153

Lyminge, Roman Christian church at, 170

MAES GARMON, 161

Maestricht, claims of Joseph II. on, 84, 85

Mahābhārata, the, historical suggestions in, 272–292

— authorship of, 282

— evidence of its antiquity, 283

— religion of, 291

Major, Mr., on the discovery of Dias and Prince Henry of Portugal, 5 (*note*)

Malays, 26

Malcolm, Sir J., on Timur, 369

— his history of Persia, 382

Malden, H. E., his *Notes on Protestantism in England*, 61–76

Malleson, Colonel G. B., his paper on *The Lost Opportunities of the House of Austria*, 225–253

Malmesbury, Lord, *see* Harris, Sir J.

Maria Theresa, Empress, her proposed union to the son of Charles of Bavaria, 245

— insists on peace being made with Frederick the Great, 248

Markham, Clements, on Timur, 369

— on the authenticity of his memoirs, 373

Marlowe, C., his *Tamurlaine*, 376–378

- Marriages between whites and blacks,  
Van Riebeck on, 33  
Marsh, George, 64, 67  
Martini, Martinus, reports on the  
richness of the N.E. of South  
Africa, 25  
Martyrs, in Roman Britain, 139-142  
— in England, grouped by counties,  
64  
Maurice, Thomas, on Timur, 368  
Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Ba-  
varia, placed at the ban of the  
Empire, 231  
— his character, 242  
— his restoration insisted on by Louis  
XIV., 244  
Maximilian Joseph, III., Elector of  
Bavaria, 246  
Mechalborne, Sir E., visits the Cape  
of Good Hope, 7  
Meerhof, Pieter, sent on expedition to  
the Namaquas, 52, 53, 55  
— his description of them, 53  
Meersen, capitularies of, 308  
Megasthenes, his testimony to the  
practice of *sati*, 283  
Mellon, Saint, Bishop of Rouen, 138  
Mendoza, Andreas Hurtado de, de-  
feated by the Dutch, 10  
Merme, W. van der, descendants of,  
survive at the Cape, 58  
Methuen treaty, 350, 352, 360, 362  
Middleton, Sir H., visits the Cape of  
Good Hope, 7  
Milan, Council of (A.D. 355), 148  
Milesum, Council of, 154  
Militia of free burghers in South  
Africa, 44  
Mohacs, battles of, 226, 229 (*note*),  
230 (*note*)  
Monomotassa, exploring expeditions  
sent towards, by Van Riebeck, 37,  
52, 54  
Montmorin, his peace policy, 91  
— signs a declaration of disarmament,  
93
- NAGEL, M., 90  
Namaquas, the, Eva's description of, 36  
— trading expedition sent to, 37, 52,  
53  
— Van Riebeck mediates between  
them and the Cochoquas 54  
Namies, daughter of Oedasoa, 50, 51  
Negapatam, negotiations about the  
possession of, 93  
Negro slaves, *see* Slaves
- Nek, Captain, 9  
Nelles, Abraham, Archdeacon of  
Brant, 298  
Netherlands, Austrian, as to the  
exchange of for the Netherlands, 78,  
80, 231, 242, 243, 249  
New Brunswick, missionary work in,  
296  
New England Company, origin of,  
293-301  
Nicaea, Council of (A.D. 325), British  
bishops not present at, 146  
Nizám Shámi, Zafarnáma of, 381  
Noble, John, his *South Africa, Past  
and Present*, i. (*note*)  
Norfolk, rebellion in, 69  
Northumberland, Thomas Percy, Earl  
of, rises against Elizabeth, 68
- OCKLEY, battle of, 313  
Oedasoa, chief of the Cochoquas, 42  
— makes alliance with the Dutch, 46  
— Van Riebeck mediates between him  
and the Namaquas, 54  
Offa, King of Mercia, founds Saint  
Alban's Abbey, 141  
Opdorp, Elizabeth van, marries  
Ryniers, 22  
Orange, House of, Stadholderate  
hereditary in, 83  
Origen, mention of Britons and Moors  
by, 137  
Orosius, asserts Pelagianism to be of  
Latin origin, 152  
Osker the Dane, his ravages among  
the East Franks, 311-312  
— his head-quarters at Bordeaux, 312,  
315  
— whether a brother of Turgesius, 315  
Ostrich farming in South Africa, 58  
Otta, wife of Turges, a prophetess, 320
- PADSTOW, Christian monogram on  
pottery found at, 167  
Palladius, his mission to Ireland, 167  
Palmer, J. F., his paper on *The Saxon  
Invasion*, 173-196  
Patrick, Saint, his so-called charter,  
125  
— his testimony to Christianity in  
Roman Britain, 166  
— his birth and parentage, *ib.*  
— story of the Danish vow to, 330  
Patroclus, Archbishop of Arles,  
ordered to take measures against  
Pelagianism, 155

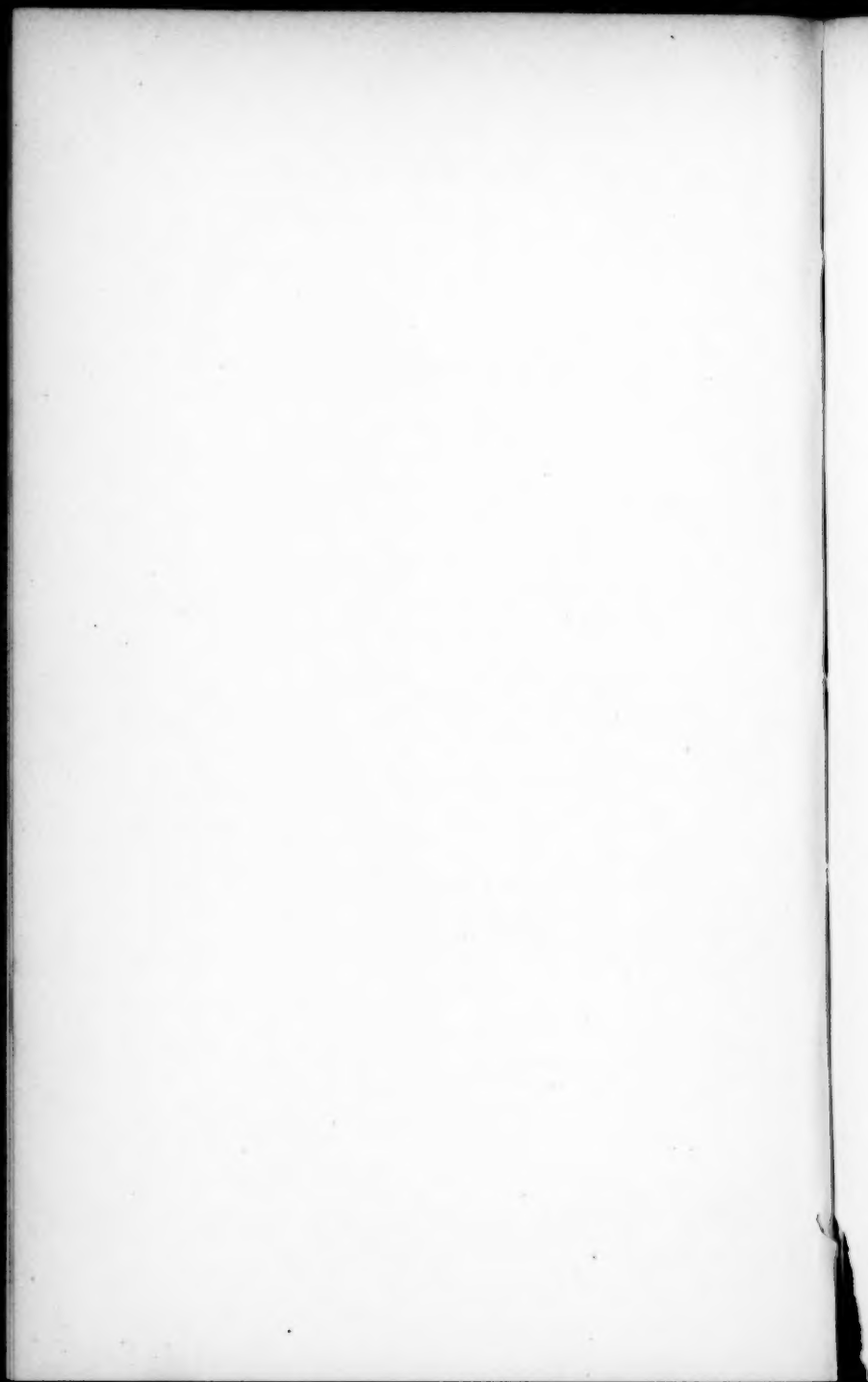
- Paul, Saint, his alleged presence in Britain, 119-121  
 Pelagianism, origin of, 152  
 — condemned by various councils, 154  
 — spread of in Gaul, 155; in Britain, 156  
 — mission sent to Britain against, 156, 160, 162  
 Pelagius, his British origin, 152  
 — his heretical teaching, 153  
 — his condemnation and banishment, 154  
 — his works, *ib.*  
*Perplexities of Oriental History*, paper by Sir F. J. Goldsmid, 365-387  
 Peter, Saint, his alleged presence in Britain, 121  
 Peyton, Captain, attempts to form a settlement on Robben Island, 7 (*note*)  
 Phagan, legend of his mission to Britain, 134  
 Pharaoh Neco, explorers sent out by, 4  
 Philip, Saint, his alleged mission to Britain, 122, 124  
 Philip V., of Spain, his disputed succession, 231 *et seq.*  
 Pilgrimage of Grace, 68  
 Pitt, William, the younger, his suspicion of French designs, 81  
 — confirms Sir James Harris's appointment, 82  
 — his financial policy, 87  
 — corresponds with Harris on an alliance with Holland, 89  
 — agrees to the required loan, 90  
 — his warlike letter to Eden, 92  
 — his action as regards the commercial treaty with France, 353-357  
 — tries to establish free trade with Ireland, 354  
 — transfers the duty on wine to the excise, 355, 356  
 Plumstead, property of the New England Company at, 294  
 Polish, Election, war of the, 244  
 Pomponia Gracina, wife of Aulus Plautius, 131  
 Portugal, her commercial treaty with England, 350, 352  
 Portuguese, their South African explorations, 6  
 — attempt to settle on Robben Island, 7 (*note*)  
 Potter, Pieter, 38  
 Prailius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, supports Pelagius, 154  
 Priscillianists in Britain, 165  
 Proot, Nicholas, urges the formation of a fort at Table Bay, 12  
 Prophets, Otta, wife of Turges, 320  
 Prosper of Aquitaine, 156  
 — his testimony to Christianity in Ireland, 166  
 Protestantism, local progress of, in England, 61-76  
 — mainly due to foreign influence, 62, 70, 74  
 Prussia joins England in favour of William V., 92  
 — her treaty with Holland, 93  
 — and with England, 93-95  
 Pudens, mentioned by Saint Paul, as to his identity, 128-132  
 Punimola, wife of Saint Lupus, 159  
 Purchas, Samuel, on Timur, 370  
 — on Al Hacen's Memoirs of Timur, 374  
 RAMAJEUNE, H., 50  
 Ras, Hans, descendants of, survive at the Cape, 58  
 Rastadt, Peace of, 243, 244  
 Raymond, Admiral, commands the first East Indian Expedition, 7  
 Rayneval, G. de, commissioned to arrange a commercial treaty with England, 350 *et seq.*  
 Reculver, Roman Christian church at, 170  
 Restitutius, Bishop of London, at the Council of Arles, 145  
 Rice Lake Station of the New England Company, 299  
 Richborough, Roman remains at, 170  
 Ridley, Nicholas, Bishop of London, does not represent Oxford Protestantism, 66  
 Riebeck, Jan Anthony van, commander of the first Dutch settlement at Table Bay, 12-14  
 — his policy towards the natives, 15, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 48, 56  
 — ordered to prohibit ecclesiastical irregularity, 17  
 — begs to be sent to India, 20  
 — his action towards foreigners, 22  
 — sends Verberg to Saint Helena, 25, 29  
 — ordered to take precautions against the English, 21  
 — birth of his son, 23, 60  
 — sends out various exploring expeditions, 25, 28, 29, 31, 37, 38, 43, 52



- complains of the cost of entertaining, 27
- cultivates trees and vegetables, 31
- his dealings with Harry about cattle, 31, 35
- dissuades the Company from cutting a canal, 31
- his views on mixed marriages, 33
- his dealings with European visitors, 33; with the free burghers, 34, 43; with the slaves, 39
- his action with regard to the run-away slaves, 40-42
- his treaty with the Kaapmans, 42
- his wine and beer making, 43, 44
- forms a militia of free burghers, 44
- his plan of defence against the natives, 47
- his proclamation concerning religious ceremonies, 49
- his appointments at Malacca and in India, 60
- his anecdotes of native traits, 51
- mediates between native tribes, 54
- his reports of the settlement over-coloured, 56
- leaves the Cape for Batavia, 57
- improvements suggested by, 58
- his character, 59
- Rieu, Mr., on the Memoirs of Timur, 373
- on the Zafarnâma of Nizam Shami, 381 (*note*)
- Rimini, Council of (A.D. 359), British bishops at, 148
- Robben Island, Portuguese and English attempts to settle on, 7 (*note*)
- explored by the Dutch, 18
- occupied by the Dutch, 24
- sealing station established, 25
- lighthouse built on, 38
- Harry imprisoned at, 42
- Robertson, Dr. William, discovers a mutiny at the Cape, 47
- Rock-drawings, South African, 3
- Roman remains in early churches, 169, 170
- Roman Wall, the, no Christian monuments found along, 168
- cruciform ornament found on, 172
- Rondebosch, beauty of, 18
- Gonnema encamps at, 29
- origin of the name, 31
- Rouen, bishopric of, founded by Saint Mellon, 138
- Rowe, Nicholas, his *Tamerlane*, 378
- Royalists, correspond to Catholics of the XVIIth century, 74
- Rufinus, denies the doctrine of original sin, 153
- Rufus and Alexander, mentioned in the Bible, 131
- Rupert, Prince, his cruising expeditions, 13
- Rurik, brother of Harald, his arrest by Lothaire and escape, 307
- makes raids on Lothaire, *ib.*
- his pact with Lothaire, 309 310
- Ryniers, Jacob, appointed 'seconde' under Van Riebeck, 22
- marries his niece, *ib.*
- his mission to Saldanha Bay, 22
- his report of a French ship there, *ib.*
- SAINT ALBANS, Saint Germanus discomfits the Pelagians at, 160
- — Abbey founded by Offa of Mercia, 141
- Saint Germain, relics of Fastidius at, 164 (*note*)
- Saint Helena, occupied by the English, 51
- Saint Helena Nova, expedition in search of, 51
- Saint Omer, Flemish ecclesiastics take shelter in, 308
- Salankama, battle of, 229 (*note*)
- Saldanha, Antonio de, South African explorer, 6
- Saldanha Bay, original name of Table Bay, 6
- Saldanhars, *see* Kaapmans
- Santa Cruz (Algoa Bay), 5 (*note*)
- Sardica, Council of (A.D. 347), as to the presence of British bishops at, 146, 147
- Sati* not prevalent at the date of the Marâbhârata, 283
- Saunders, Charles, his *Tamerlane*, 379
- Savages, effect of alcohol on, 188
- Saxon Invasion of Britain*, paper by J. F. Palmer, 173-196
- Saxons, their physical and mental characteristics, 184, 188
- Scheldt, declared open by Joseph II., 12, 84, 85
- Schiller, on the opposition of the House of Austria to the Reformation, 225
- Scilly, Priscillianists banished to, 165
- Sealing stations at the Cape, 25, 27
- Severianus, Bishop, as to his identity, 156
- Severus, Bishop of Treves, 156
- accompanies Germanus to Britain, 162

- Severus Sulpicius, on martyrdoms in Gaul, 136  
 — identified with Severianus, 156  
 — his Pelagian views, 16  
 — his Eastern cycle adopted by the British church, 149, 150  
 Sextus, Saint, early British martyr, 142  
 Sheffield, Lord, on the commercial treaty between England and France, 363  
 Shillinge, Captain Andrew, takes possession of the Cape of Good Hope, 8  
 Simon Zelotes, Saint, his alleged presence in Britain, 122  
 Skulls, ancient British and Anglo-Saxon, 183  
 Slaves, negro, importation of, 38  
 — school for, 39  
 — their desertions and troubles consequent on, 39-42  
 Smith, Bosworth, his *Life of Lord Lawrence*, 385  
 Socrates and Stephen, mention of in *Martyrologies*, 142  
 Souza, Dom Manuel da, his shipwreck and death, 6  
 Spanish Succession, War of, 230, *et seq.*  
 Spilbergen, Admiral, 19  
 Spitalfields, weavers of, insist on the prohibition of French silks, 361, 362  
 Stael, Pieter van, his school for the slaves and Hottentots, 39, 54  
 Staffordshire, Catholic feeling in, 76  
 Stein, Colonel, his schemes thwarted by Sir James Harris, 94  
 Stephens, Thomas, his account of the Cape of Good Hope, 7  
 Stewart, Major, his translation of Timur's Memoirs, 373, 380  
 Stone, symbolical use of in names, 193  
 Stone implements, South African, 3  
 Stone, C. J., his paper on the *Mahābhārata*, 272  
 Strabo, on the circumnavigation of Africa, 5
- TABLE BAY, originally called Saldanha Bay, 6  
 — first European settlement at, 12-14  
 Tamerlane, *see* Timur  
 Tasmanians, injurious effect of alcohol on, 188  
*Tchông-Yông*, the, of Confucius, 254-271  
 — burning of denied, 270  
 Tea, duty on, reduced by Pitt, 354  
 Tertullian, speaks of Christianity in Britain, 137
- Theal, G. McCall, his *Chronicles of Cape Commanders*, 2 (*note*)  
 Theodosius II., Emperor, condemns Pelagius, 154  
 Thirty Years War, 228  
 Thornton, R., his paper on *The Language of the English before the Conquest*, 197-214  
 Tiberian, a Priscillianist, banished from Britain, 165  
 Timur, his personality, 366-370, 377  
 — portraits of, 367  
 — origin of his name 368, (*note*), 371 (*note*)  
 — histories of, 368 *et seq.*, 381  
 — memoirs of, 372-374  
 — institutes of, 373  
 — dramatic representations of, 374-379  
 — his alleged visit to Shaikh Safiud-din, 383  
 — his embassy to Charles VI. of France, 385 (*note*)  
 Tomar, his ring preserved as an heirloom, 323  
 — common title of the Kings of Dublin, 324  
 Tonsure, usage of in the British and Irish churches, 151, 152  
 Torcy, Marquis of, his negotiations with the Allies, 234-236  
 Torquatus, whether identical with Turgesius, 315  
 Transvaal, gold mines in, 52  
 Treaty of commerce between France and England, 1786, 349, 364  
 Triple Alliance of 1788, 77-96  
 Tristan d'Acunha, 31  
 Tsin-Ché-Hoang-ti, his attempted reforms in China, 269  
 Turgesius, as to his identity, 314  
 — his ravages in Ireland, 314 *et seq.*  
 — story of his death, 320  
 — traditions of, 321  
 Turks, their wars with Hungary and the Empire, 226, 229
- UNITED PROVINCES, relations of, with France, 80, 87, 93  
 — with Joseph II., 84-86  
 — peace signed with England, 82  
 — nature of the Union, *ib.*  
 — two parties in, 83  
 — make an alliance with England and Prussia, 93  
 Utrecht, Peace of, 243  
 — Treaty of, 350, 351  
 Uzun Hasan, as to his descendants, 382

- VALENTINIAN III., Emperor, his edict against Pelagianism, 155  
 Vandalism, origin of the name, 190  
 Vanderspiegel, Pensionary of Zealand, 87  
 — made Grand Pensionary of Holland, 93  
 — signs the Triple Alliance, 95  
 Venning, W. M., his paper on *The Origin of the New England Company*, 293-301  
 Verberg, Frederick, his mission to Saldanha Bay, 22  
 — and to St. Helena, 25, 29  
 — appointed 'seconde,' 26.  
 — his exploring voyages, 25, 29  
 — his death, 30  
 Verdun, Treaty of, 302  
 Vergennes, Count, his peace policy, 79  
 — his action as regards a commercial treaty with England, 351, 352, 353  
 Verron, Captain, wrecked at the Cape, 49  
 Versailles, Peace of, 349, 350  
 — commercial treaty signed at, 362  
 Victorius of Aquitaine, his Easter cycle, 150  
 Villars, Marshal, negotiates the Peace of Rastadt, 243  
 Vincent of Lerins, charged with Pelagianism, 153  
 Vogslaar, H. van, 19  
 Vortigern, British animosity against, 175-177
- WAGENAAR, Z., appointed governor at the Cape, 57  
 Waldron, Dr. Derwent, 301  
 Wales, failure of an anti-catholic rising in, 70  
 Wallace, J. W., 114  
 Warner, W., his description of Anglo-Saxon physiognomy, 181 (note)  
 Warwyk, Wybrand van, 11  
 Watson, Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, trials for heresy under, 67  
 Watt, James, his proposed removal to France, 355  
 Welsh, their low stature, 179  
 Werde, Caspar van, clerk of the Cape council, 33  
 West Indian mission, grant of the New England Company to, 300
- Westhinsen, P. van der, descendants of, survive at the Cape, 58  
 Westmoreland, Charles Neville, Earl of, rises against Elizabeth, 68  
 Westphalia, Peace of, 229  
 Whales, at the Cape, 17  
 Wheeler, J. Talboys, his *History of India*, 386  
 White, John, Bishop of Winchester, trials for heresy under, 67  
 Wicganbeorg (Wickanborough), defeat of the Danes at, 314  
 William V., of Orange, Stadtholder, his feebleness, 83, 85  
 — peasants declare in his favour, 85  
 — leaves the Hague, 86  
 — support offered to, by England, 87, 90  
 — suspended by the States, 88  
 — puts himself at the head of Van der Hop's army, 90  
 — empowers the Princess to act on his behalf, 91  
 — restored by England and Prussia, 92  
 Williams, Dr. Daniel, his bequest to the New England Company, 296, 297  
 Wilmot, A., his *History of the Cape Colony*, 2 (note)  
 Winchester, diocese of, few executions for heresy in, 67  
 Wine, duty on, transferred to the excise, 355, 356  
 Wintervogel, Jan, his exploring expedition, 28  
 Wreede, G. F., 52  
 Wright, Thomas, argues against Christianity in Roman Britain, 167  
 Wyatt, Sir Thomas, his rebellion, 69  
 Wylant, W. B., 'Sick Comforter' at the Cape, 16
- YAO, 261
- ZEALAND, her offers to England, 87  
 Zenta, battle of, 229 (note), 230  
 Zerff, Dr., his paper on *The Têhông-Yông of Confucius*, 254-271  
 Zozimus, supports Pelagius, 154  
 Zweibrücken, Charles II., Duke of, his share in the War of the Bavarian Succession, 247  
 — in the proposed exchange of the Netherlands and Bavaria, 249



# Royal Historical Society,

11 CHANDOS STREET,

CAVENDISH SQUARE, W.

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SESSION 1883-4.

THE COUNCIL have much pleasure in presenting to the General Meeting of the Fellows their Annual Report of the past Session.

The Papers read at the Monthly Meetings were :

1. 'Notes on the Social Progress of Protestantism in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' by HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

2. 'The Triple Alliance of 1788,' by OSCAR BROWNING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

3. 'The Saxon Invasion and its Influence on our Character as a Race,' by J. FOSTER PALMER, L.R.C.P., F.R.Hist.S.

4. 'The Language and Literature of the English before the Conquest, and the Effect on them of the Norman Invasion,' by the Rev. ROBINSON F. THORNTON, D.D., F.R.Hist.S.

5. 'The Lost Opportunities of the House of Austria,' by Colonel G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I., F.R.Hist.S.

6. 'The Tchông-Yông of Confucius,' edited by his grandson, Tching-Tsé, by Dr. G. G. ZERFFI, F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.S.

7. 'Historical Suggestions in the Ancient Hindu Epic, the Mahàbhàrata,' by CHARLES J. STONE, F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.S.

8. 'May Day in England,' by Miss ANNIE KEMM, F.R.Hist.S.

9. 'The Formation and Early History of a Queen Anne Parish,' by the Rev. WILLIAM DAWSON, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

10. 'Jean Jacques Rousseau and his Influence upon the French Revolution,' by Mr. ROBERT LEIGHTON.

11. 'The Origin of the New England Company, London, with an Account of its Labours on behalf of the North American Indians,' by WM. MARSHALL VENNING, M.A., D.C.L.

In terms of Rule V., the two retiring Vice-Presidents are :

The Duke of Westminster, K.G.,  
The Lord de Lisle and Dudley ;

and the four retiring Members of Council :

Hon. Rollo Russell,  
J. H. K. Shenton,  
Rev. R. Thornton, D.D.,  
Bryce M. Wright, F.R.G.S. ;

In place of these the Council propose as Vice-Presidents :

Mr. C. A. Fyffe, M.A.,  
Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, M.A. ;

and as Members of the Council :

Rev. W. Cunningham, M.A.,  
Mr. J. Bass Mullinger, M.A.,  
Mr. F. K. J. Shenton,  
Rev. R. Thornton, D.D.

Col. G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., has been chosen by the Council to fill the place of Mr. J. H. Chapman, who resigned in the course of the session. The Council deeply regret that Mr. George Harris, Vice-President, has been obliged to resign on account of failing health. His place has been filled by the election as Vice-President of Mr. Hyde Clarke. Rev. J. F. Bright, D.D., Master of University College, Oxford, has been elected Member of Council in place of Mr. Hyde Clarke.

Since November 1 last, 50 new Fellows have been elected, 7 have died, 27 have resigned, and 9 have been removed from the Roll. The following list shows the number of Fellows on the Roll :—

	Oct. 31, 1883.	Oct. 31, 1884.
Ordinary Fellows . . . .	447	454
Life do. . . . .	81	81
Ex Officio do. . . . .	2	2
Honorary do. . . . .	61	61
Corresponding do. . . . .	23	23
	<u>614</u>	<u>621</u>

During the session the following Fellows of the Society died :—  
Hon. Isaac Arnold, G. Bettany, J. J. Bond, Hon. J. H. F. Claiborne,  
Rev. W. Jacobson, D.D., late Bishop of Chester, J. W. Wallis, and  
J. P. Ward.

The Council deeply regret to record the death of Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., who took a warm interest in the Society. In reply to a resolution of condolence with Lady Frere and her family, they have received the following letter from Lady Frere :—

Wressil Lodge, Wimbledon,

*July 11, 1884.*

DEAR SIR,

I beg most sincerely to thank you for your kind letters, and must ask you to convey to the Council of the Royal Historical Society my most heartfelt thanks, and those of my family, for their expressions of sympathy with us at this time. The knowledge that our bereavement is looked upon by my dear husband's countrymen as a national loss is deeply felt by us ; and the many tokens of love and appreciation for his memory which our heavy loss has called forth from all quarters will ever be amongst our most treasured recollections. I shall always remember that the paper he wrote for the Royal Historical Society on South Africa was the last work my dear husband was able to do for any of the learned Societies, in which he always took so great an interest.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) CATHERINE FRERE.

P. E. Dove, Esq.

The Council append the Treasurer's receipts and payments from the date of the last account on the 31st of October, 1883, to the end of the present financial year, ending on the 31st of October, 1884, and also the Capital Account.



# TREASURER'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

*A Summary of all Moneys received and Paid by him on behalf of the Society from 1st November, 1883, to 31st October, 1884.*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Subscriptions	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sale of Transactions, &c.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Balance due to Treasurer	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	21	14	6	36	18	6			
	461	3	6	5	3	6			
	7	9	3						
	8	16	1						
				42	2	0			
				172	10	0			
Salaries	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Refreshments at Meetings, W. E. Foole	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Advertisements of Meetings, F. Algar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Post-cards and Circulars, Spottiswoode & Co.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Transactions:	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Printing and Binding	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Bibliographical Notices	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Index to Vol. I, N.S.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Map in Part III.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Publisher's Commission	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	131	7	3						
	15	5	0						
	6	6	0						
	7	10	0						
	2	2	0						
	162	10	3						
Distributing Transactions and Report of Council	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Printing: Spottiswoode & Co. Judd & Co.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	26	16	0						
	1	10	0						
	28	6	0						
Stationery: Whitehead & Co. Prince & Baugh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	6	9	6						
	2	17	6						
Subscriptions to Societies	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Petty Expenses: Secretary Librarian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	1	3	1						
	0	10	0						
Postages	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Subscriptions (twice paid) re-funded	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
W. Offord (removing books)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Bank Charges	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Bank Postages	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	1	13	1						
	19	0	6						
	2	2	0						
	0	10	5						
	4	4	0						
	4	4	2						
	£499	3	4						

Examined and found correct

(Signed)

WALTER HAMILTON,  
R. HOVENDEN,  
JAMES JUDD,

Auditors,

## CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
July 28, 1882.				Oct. 31, 1884.			
Two-thirds of Life Subscriptions placed upon deposit account with the London & South-Western Bank, Limited.	31	10	0				
Sept. 30, 1884.				Balance . . . . .	33	1	7
Interest accrued to date . . . . .	1	11	7				
	<u>£33</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>		<u>£33</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>

We certify that the Bankers' Deposit Ledger was produced to us, showing £33. 1s. 7d. to the credit of the Royal Historical Society.

(Signed)

WALTER HAMILTON,  
R. HOVENDEN,  
JAMES JUDD, } *A. inst.*

January 12, 1885.

Lastly, the Council append the Secretary's Financial Statement of the Assets (excluding the Library) and the Liabilities of the Society on the 31st of October, 1884.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES  
on 31st October, 1884.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1884.				1884.			
Oct. 31.				Oct. 31.			
Outstanding subscriptions:				Balance due Treasurer . . . . .	8	16	1
£60. 18s., say 50 per				Balance in favour of the			
cent. recoverable . . . . .	30	9	0	Society . . . . .	21	12	11
	<u>£30</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>£30</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>

The above statement examined and found correct.

(Signed)

WALTER HAMILTON,  
R. HOVENDEN,  
JAMES JUDD, } *Auditors.*

January 12, 1885.

The Auditors appointed to examine the Society's accounts report:

'That they have compared the entries in the books with the vouchers from November 1, 1883, to October 31, 1884, and find them correct, showing the receipts, including a balance of £21. 14s. 6d. from 1883, to have been £49c. 7s. 3d. and the payments £499. 3s. 4d., leaving a balance due to the Treasurer on October 31, 1884, of £8. 16s. 1d.

'There has also been laid before them the Secretary's estimate of

the Assets and Liabilities of the Society, the former amounting to £30. 9s., and the latter to £8. 16s. 1., leaving a balance in favour of the Society of £21. 12s. 11d., as against an estimated balance of £63. 0s. 6d. on October 31, 1883. They find, further, that on November 1, 1883, the number of Fellows on the Roll, in accordance with the Report, was 614, and that this number was diminished in the course of the year to the extent of 43 by deaths and resignations, and increased by the election of 50 new Fellows, leaving on the Roll on October 31, 1884, 621 Fellows.'

(Signed)	WALTER HAMILTON,	} <i>Auditors.</i>
	R. HOVENDEN,	
<i>January 12, 1885.</i>	JAMES JUDD,	

By Order of the Council,

(Signed)	ABERDARE, <i>President.</i>
	G. G. ZERFFI, <i>Chairman.</i>
	P. EDWARD DOVE, <i>Secretary.</i>

# Royal Historical Society.

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---

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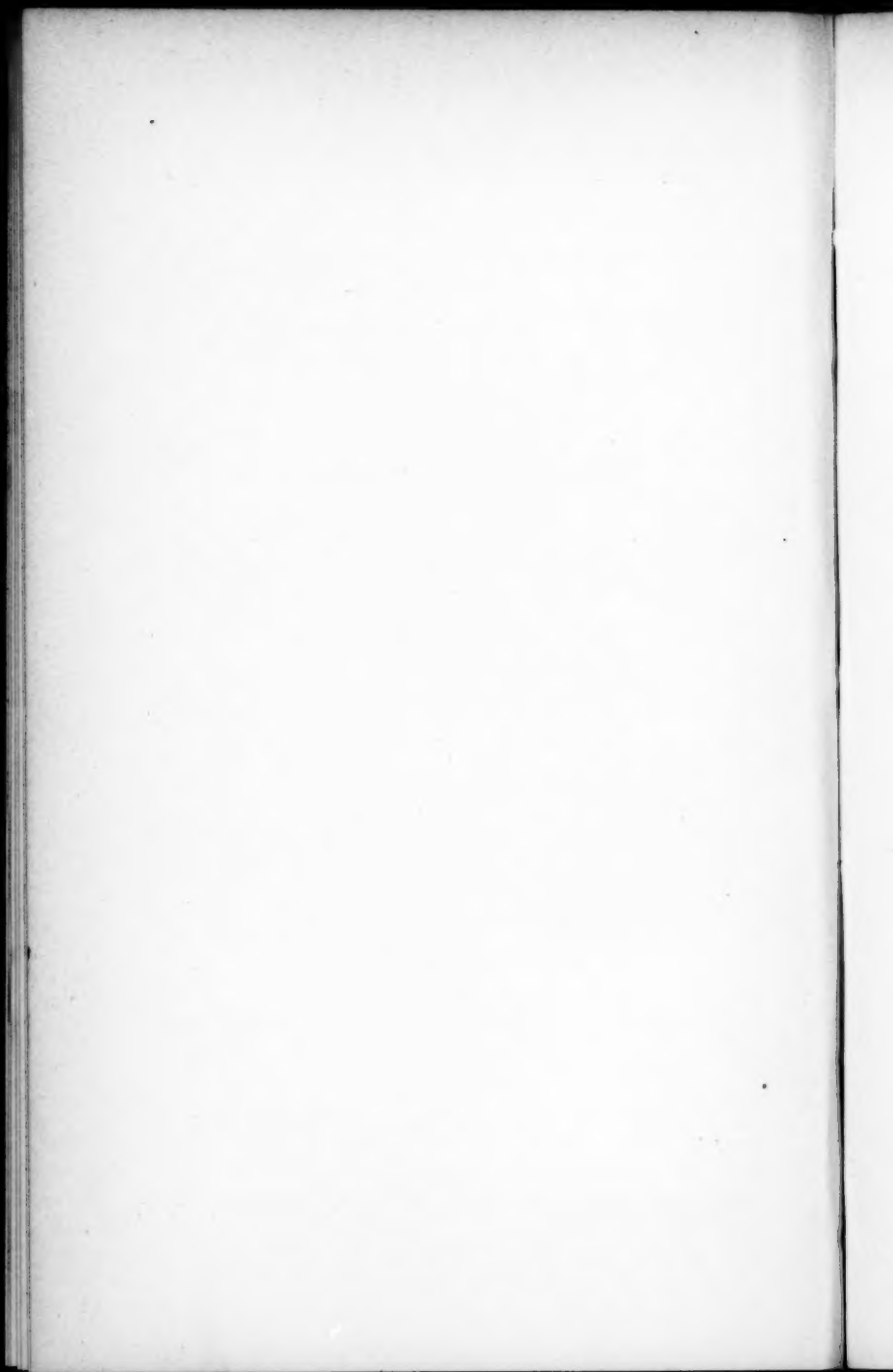
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### Secretary.

P. EDWARD DOVE, F.R.A.S., 11 Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, W.



# LIST OF FELLOWS.

*Names of Members of Council are printed in SMALL CAPITALS.  
Those marked \* have compounded for their Annual Subscriptions.  
Those marked † have contributed Papers.  
Those marked "p" have presented Books to the Library.*

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